HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF SOCIALISM

JAMES C. DOCHERTY

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CONTENTS

EDITOR'S FOREWORD

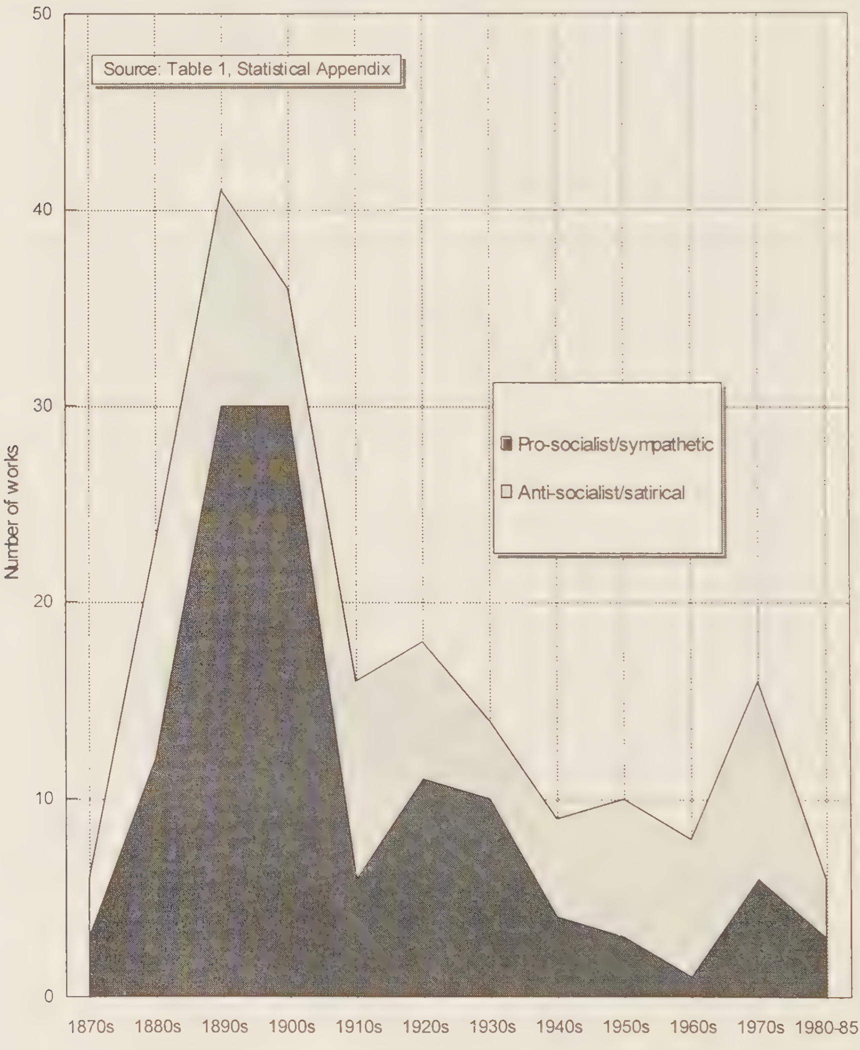
Socialism has been one of the more resilient modern socio-political ideologies. At a time when communism is in full rout, socialism is just undergoing a tactical retreat. This retreat in some places has been quite limited. Even where it is notable, there is no sign of socialist parties disappearing and some have made a quick comeback. Many of the guiding principles and ideas do seem to be fading. But that may just be appearance. What actually happens in many cases is that these ideas have become so thoroughly accepted into the general consensus that they are hardly recognized as socialist any more; among these concepts are the need to overcome unemployment, ensure some form of welfare, and provide a political voice for groups to the left of the spectrum.

This is a good time to publish a *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*. Most of the past certainties are gone, many programs and ideologies are being rethought, and socialists worldwide are looking for new directions. So this historical dictionary can focuses not only on the past but the present. On occasion, it can even hint at the future. This is done through 327 entries on significant persons and parties, issues and institutions, concepts and competitors. The view stretches almost two centuries back into the past and looks beyond the advanced countries to developing and newly industrializing ones. Statistics, a chronology and a glossary of terms as well as a list of acronyms make it easier to follow the path. A comprehensive bibliography takes readers further afield.

Dr. James C. Docherty is becoming an old hand at historical dictionaries. In 1992, he wrote the *Historical Dictionary of Australia*. The *Historical Dictionary of Organized Labor* appeared in 1996. And now we have a *Historical Dictionary of Socialism*. They are related in some ways, even the *Australia* volume, since that country has been a vital source of socialism and unionism. Socialism and organized labor are not just academic interests for Dr. Docherty, who has worked in parts of the Australian federal civil service that have responsibility for the labor market and labor relations. His familiarity with these subjects gives these books a realistic and pragmatic cast that is invaluable.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

SOCIALIST THEMES IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN UTOPIAN FICTION, 1870-1985



PREFACE

This dictionary is about a subject that was (and is) highly contentious: socialism, and specifically its democratic tradition of socialist thought and practice. It is *not* a single volume history of socialism—an impossible task—but rather a general guide to the subject with directions about how to find out more. It is a work of information, not advocacy. It traces the evolution of socialism from the early nineteenth century to the mid-1990s, or as far as the crumbling edge of contemporary affairs permits.

Compared to the revolutionary or authoritarian tradition of socialism, which since 1920 has been usually expressed as communism, the democratic tradition has suffered neglect. Lacking the use of violence in the quest for quick political results, the democratic socialist tradition can seem a dull, plodding affair, needed in a past age, but with little relevance for the present.

Instead, it can be argued that by building on social consensus, democratic socialism has built enduring achievements, particularly in social welfare. It has not collapsed in moral and economic bankruptcy like the communist regimes of eastern Europe in the late 1980s. As for its relevance for the modern era, one has only to look at the problems of capitalist economies in the nineteenth century that brought socialism into being in the first place—unemployment, poverty, glaring inequalities of wealth and income and power—to note that they are not only still present but have gotten worse since the 1970s.

This dictionary complements my *Historical Dictionary of Organized Labor* (Scarecrow Press, 1996), which dealt with the industrial wing of labor, the trade unions; there is some overlap between the two works but generally I have kept it to a minimum. This dictionary is mainly concerned with the political wing of labor, that is, with the writers, activists, ideas, political parties, and institutions that sought to change the social and political order of their day. It tries to give due weight to the work of individuals, many now forgotten, but who exerted much influence in their time; I have tried to indicate why or how they became socialists. It includes entries on the main political parties which have been admitted to full membership of the Socialist International. Most leaders of socialist or social democratic parties who have led national governments, or tried to implement socialist policies, have been given entries. References to communism have been reduced to essential ones only, not just because this information is relatively more accessible, but also because a separate dictionary on the topic in this series is in preparation. I have also tried to convey something of the idea of socialism as a movement; hence the entries on religion, sport, youth, and other matters not normally given

space in a work of this kind. In all, there are 327 subject entries and many cross-references. The glossary, chronology, statistical appendix, and bibliography are designed to supplement the body of the dictionary. The dictionary deals only slightly with infighting, scandals, and corruption in its discussion of political parties for lack of space. For more on these and other topics, the reader can follow the signposts I have given.

As mentioned, my aim in this dictionary has not been to try to include every topic or personality but rather to present a broad historical view of the subject and, at times, redress some of the imbalances of popular perception. In so doing, complicated and often subtle matters have had to be severely summarized or even omitted. As with any historical materials, issues which seem obvious from the present point of view often did not appear that way in the past. It is not possible to convey these kinds of complexities in a work of this kind and really the only cure is for readers to do their own reading, preferably among the primary sources listed in the bibliography. Yet even with the best will in the world, the process of condensing information in itself can lead to a false impression of order and progress not present in the original unfolding of events. Where this has occurred, I can only ask the forbearance of expert readers using a work designed to be a first resort. As with any work of this kind, I have relied heavily on the efforts of others. That said, errors and misleading statements remain my responsibility, not theirs. As a general rule I have relied on the most recent work to present what seems to me to be the latest scholarly consensus.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

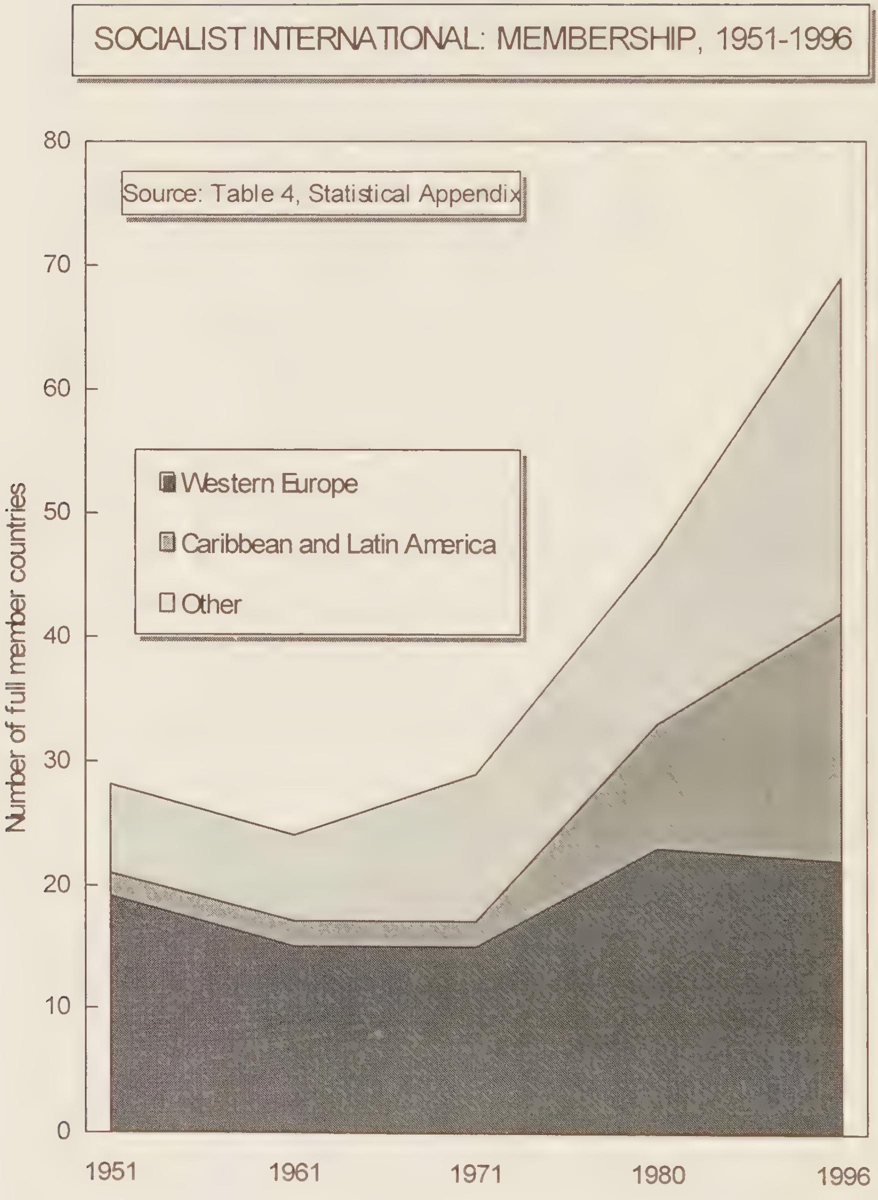
ALP	Australian Labor Party
APSO	Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization
ASC	Asian Socialist Conference
ASDP	Austrian Social Democratic Party
ASP	Austrian Socialist Party; Argentinian Socialist Party
BPL	Barbados Labour Party
BSDP	Bulgarian Social Democratic Party
BSP	Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party; British Socialist Party
CLPD	Campaign for Labour Party Democracy
COMISCO	Committee of the International Socialist Conference
CSDP	Czech Social Democratic Party
CSPEC	Confederation of the Socialist Parties in the European Community
CSTEC	Commission of Socialist Teachers of the European Community
CWS	Co-operative Wholesale Society [United Kingdom]
DAP	Democratic Action Party [Malaysia]
DCA	Democratic Constituent Assembly [Tunisia]
DL	Democratic Left [Ecuador]
DLP	Democratic Labor Party [Brazil]
DSD/LP	Dutch Social Democratic/Labor Party

DPL	Democratic Party of the Left [Italy]
DRP	Dominican Revolutionary Party
DSA	Democratic Socialists of America
DSDP	Danish Social Democratic Party
DSP	Democratic Socialist Party [Guatemala]
ESDP	Estonian Social Democratic Party
ESM	European Socialist Movement
FRP	February Revolutionary Party [Paraguay]
HSDP	Hungarian Social Democratic Party
IASL	International Alliance of Socialist Lawyers
ICA	International Co-operative Alliance
ICFTU	International Confederation of Free Trade Unions
IFM-SEI	International Falcon Movement–Socialist Educational Association
IFSDP	International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press
IFTU	International Federation of Trade Unions
IJLB	International Jewish Labor Bund
ILP	Independent Labour Party [United Kingdom]; Israeli Labor Party
ILRC	International League of Religious Socialists
IRS	International of Revolutionary Syndicalists
ISDP	Icelandic Social Democratic Party

ISWC	International Socialist Women's Committee
IUDT	International Union of Democratic Teachers
IUSY	International Union of Socialist Youth
IWMA	International Workingmen's Association
JSDP	Japanese Social Democratic Party
JSP	Japanese Socialist Party
LSDP	Latvian Social Democratic Party; Lithuanian Social Democratic Party
LSI	Labor and Socialist International; Labor Sports International
LSWP	Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party
MAPAM	*Mifleget Hapaolim Mamenchedet* (United Workers' Party) [Israel]
MLP	Malta Labour Party; Mauritius Labour Party
MRL	Movement of the Revolutionary Left [Bolivia]
MSDP	Mongolian Social Democratic Party
NDP	National Democratic Party [Egypt]
NDP	New Democratic Party [Canada]
NLP	National Liberation Party [Costa Rica]; Norwegian Labor Party
NZLP	New Zealand Labour Party
PASOK	*Panellio Socialistiko Kinima* (Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement) [Greece]
PDL	Party of the Democratic Left [Slovakian Republic]

PEP	People's Electoral Movement [Aruba]
PRIP	Puerto Rico Independence Party
PS	*Parti socialiste* (Socialist Party) [France]
PSP	Polish Socialist Party; Progressive Socialist Party [Lebanon]
RP	Radical Party [Chile]
RPNA	Revolutionary-Progressive Nationalist Party [Haiti]
RSDP	Romanian Social Democratic Party
SALP	South African Labour Party
SAWP	Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party
SDF	Social Democratic Federation [United Kingdom]
SDPP	Social Democratic People's Party [Turkey]
SFIO	*Parti Socialiste (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière*) (Socialist Party) (French Section of the Workers' International)
SGEP	Socialist Group in the European Parliament
SI	Socialist International
SICLAC	Socialist International Committee for Latin America and the Caribbean
SIDAC	Socialist International Disarmament Advisory Council
SILO	Socialist Information and Liaison Office
SLPA	Socialist Labor Party of America
SMUSE	Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe
SPA	Socialist Party of America

SPS	Socialist Party of Senegal
SSDP	Social Democratic and Labour Party [Northern Ireland]; Swiss Social Democratic Party
SSDWP	Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party
SSWP	Spanish Socialist Workers' Party
SUCEE	Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe
SUP	Socialist Unity Party [San Marino]
SUPF	Socialist Union of Popular Forces [Morocco]
SWI	Socialist International Women
SWSI	Socialist Workers' Sports International
TUC	Trades Union Congress {United Kingdom]
UDUC	Unified Democratic Union of Cyprus
WLZM	World Labor Zionist Movement
WPUS	Workingmen's Party of the United States
YPSL	Young People's Socialist League [United States]


SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL: MEMBERSHIP, 1951-1996
Source: Table 4, Statistical Appendix
Western Europe
Caribbean and Latin America
Other
Number of full member countries
0
10
20
30
40
50
60
70
80
1951
1961
1971
1980
1996

INTRODUCTION

Throughout history, many movements have tried to change the world for the better. Often expressed through religion, they were generally short-lived and violently suppressed. In contrast, mass movements seeking general social improvement in the long-term are relatively recent. Of these movements, socialism has been the leading force for social change in the past century. It has been a philosophy, a mass movement, and a substitute religion. It has inspired millions while arousing fear and revulsion in its enemies. It has sought to change the world for the better and in many important respects it has done so. Yet socialism remains a paradox. Though it professes only to do good, great crimes against humanity have been committed in its name. Democratic and egalitarian in theory, it has been used to justify totalitarian dictatorship in practice.

Despite its importance in history since 1870, socialism eludes easy definition. Derived from the Latin word *socius* meaning "ally" or "friend"—the same word that provided the root for society and sociology—the term *socialist* was used in the English *Co-operative Magazine* in November 1827 as a synonym for *communist*. In France the term *socialisme* was used in the *Globe* in February 1832 in contrast to *individualisme* or individualism. The word *socialism*, has been in use from 1836 to the present.

Then, as now, there was no single agreed-upon definition of what socialism was. Variety has always been an outstanding feature of socialism. In his *Dictionary of Socialism*, (1924), Angelo S. Rappoport listed 40 definitions of socialism. Fortunately, within this diversity many common elements could be found. First, there were general criticisms about the social effects of the private ownership and control of capital—poverty, low wages, unemployment, economic and social inequality, and a lack of economic security. Second, there was a general view that the solution to these problems lay in some form of collective control (with the degree of control varying among the proponents of socialism) over the means of production, distribution, and exchange. Third, there was agreement that the outcomes of this collective control should be a society which provided social equality and justice, economic protection, and a generally more satisfying life for most people. To a large extent, socialism became a catchall term for the critics of industrial and capitalist society. Therefore, in trying to define socialism, all that can be said is that it has always defied precise definition.

LEADERS AND FOLLOWERS

The emergence of socialist thought

Distant precedents for any important topic in political or philosophical discourse can always be found, and the roots of what was later regarded as socialism have been traced back to More's *Utopia* and even Plato's *Republic*. Interesting as these antecedents are as forerunners of elements of socialist thought, they are not particularly helpful in understanding socialism as a modern movement, simply because precedents can be found for just about any viewpoint over the past two millennia. Evidence of direct lineage between ideas is all too often assumed rather than proven. As Bernard Crick has observed, socialism really has no precedent in the ancient or medieval world. This is because there was no precedent for the scale of the explosion of capitalist activity and industrialization that occurred first in Western Europe and then spread to the rest of the world after 1800. By the 1820s and 1830s critics of the new economic order had begun to grow in number and confidence. In their different ways, they were united in their moral objections to capitalism (q.v.) as an economic and political system. They objected to its emphasis on competition as opposed to cooperation, on the benefits its gave to individuals as opposed to the society, and on its social costs—specifically poverty, unemployment, low wages, inequality, and lack of social and economic protection. These concerns were to become lasting attributes of socialist thought and practice.

Utopian socialism (q.v.) was the dominant form of socialism during the first half of the nineteenth century. If society could not be changed, then one option was to set up model communities either within the society or, more popularly, somewhere else. In the nineteenth century, communities based on the ideas of Robert Owen and Charles Fourier (qq. v.) were set up in the United States. Utopian socialism received bad press from Karl Marx (q.v.) as being impractical and as not addressing the fundamental flaws in capitalist society. But the truth was that interest in socialist communities continued into the 1930s. Utopianism, a form of secular millenarianism, remained a feature of socialism and later, communism (q.v.). Indeed the vision of a better society that took hold on a mass basis between 1880 and 1914 was immensely powerful in sustaining its support.

Socialism varied because it developed under very different conditions within Western Europe. France and England were the twin nurseries of socialist ideas before 1850, and socialism was strongly shaped by the particular political traditions of the two societies as well as by the very different impact of the process of industrialization. France, to a far greater extent than England, continued its tradition of political change by violent revolution, which was shown vividly in the "June Days" of 1848 and the Paris Commune (q.v.) of 1871. In England the tradition of piecemeal

reform was ascendant and fed the socialist tradition in the form of Fabianism (q.v.). Christian socialism (q.v.) was another response to the problems caused by industrial capitalism. Although its influence waned after 1900, its later influence in shaping the views of later British socialists or Americans like Norman Thomas (q.v.) should not be dismissed. Another critic of individual capitalism was Saint-Simon (q.v.), who stressed its inefficiency and its lack of reward for the truly productive members of society. Louis Blanc (q.v.), a leading democratic French socialist, saw the potential of using government to implement socialist ideas as early as 1840 and anticipated what was later regarded as revisionism (q.v.). Anarchism (q.v.)—the denial of the need for government—was a movement that later became the extremist fringe of socialist thought. It was effectively begun by Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in 1840, even though he had no intention of founding any kind of movement.

The general repression that occurred in continental Europe after the failure of the revolutions in 1848 not only suppressed socialism for another decade, but also exposed its weaknesses. With the exception of Proudhon, all the principal writers of what today are regarded as precursors of socialism before 1860 came from the middle class (q.v.). Blanc and Proudhon (qq. v.) were among the few to have any kind of political experience. Otherwise, socialism before 1860 was largely confined to a mixed, educated group of middle-class critics of capitalism. Their ideas were sometimes confused and contradictory. Their practicality was questionable. The ideas themselves needed to be refined and made coherent. In this process Karl Marx (q.v.) played a critical role, although it was not until the 1880s that his works became readily available. Even then he was likely to be read though interpreters like Karl Kautsky (q.v.). Marx gave the emerging socialist movement not just a compelling theory of society complete with its own vocabulary, but an historical sense as well. His works showed socialism where it come from, where it was, and where it could be. Yet a sense of historical destiny could not disguise the fact that before 1860 socialism was made up of leaders, or those who aspired to lead others. It needed followers to create the mass movement that would not only provide a means for the delivery of those ideas but would give the ideas practical shape and direction. The place to look for those followers was the group that socialists want to help the most, the working class (q.v.).

The tradition of working-class collectivism

The history of socialism has traditionally stressed the primacy of ideas published by educated reformers while minimizing the efforts of the

working class, the very people socialism was designed to help. Long before the advent of socialist writers, a tradition of economic collectivism had been developed by segments of the working class, which was vital to converting socialism from a pool of ideas into a mass movement. The most obvious aspect of the tradition of working-class collectivism was organized violence, typically expressed in rioting over some specific issue. By the late seventeenth century, labor disputes had also emerged in England as form of working-class collectivism. Despite their illegality, 383 of these disputes are known to have taken place in Britain between 1717 and 1800. Events like these could not have occurred without some kind of organization, no matter how rudimentary. In their famous analysis of labor unions (q.v.), Beatrice and Sidney Webb (q.v.) were inclined to dismiss the pre-1850 trade union movement on the grounds that the organizations were not continuous. This is an excessively bureaucratic interpretation of historical development because although the organizations may not have survived—they were, after all, illegal—their members did endure and so provided the foundations for more impressive institutional achievements after 1850. In Britain and northern Italy, the first labor unions are recorded as arising in the fourteenth century. Although their lives as organizations were often short, they were persistent. Arising among journeymen (men who had learned a trade through an apprenticeship) and among workers employed at centers of large-scale production, such as mines and textile factories, they were, at least in England, able to become a feature of society during the eighteenth century. Because of their illegal status as the start of the nineteenth century, the number of labor union members in England is not known. But some idea of their membership is shown by the number of signatures on a petition protesting the repeal of the apprenticeship clause of the *Statute of Artificers* in 1814: 30,517 names.

Friendly (or mutual benefit) societies were a another strand of working-class collectivism. They were voluntary associations that collected money by installments from members, which would then be paid back to the members or their families in case of unemployment, illness, incapacity or death. The earliest friendly societies were formed in Scotland, England, and France in the seventeenth century, although Prussian miners are known to have formed thrift societies in the sixteenth century. For example, in 1699 coal ship loaders in Newcastle-upon-Tyne in northeastern England agreed to form a mutual benefit society to provide money for themselves and their families in the event of sickness, old age, or death.

During the eighteenth century, the number of these mutual benefit societies increased greatly; by 1803 there 9,672 friendly societies in England with a total membership of 703,350. Ironically, it was slowly rising living standards in England that enabled collectivist action by certain

one of the most common expressions of working-class collectivism in Britain before 1850. Often providing a blind for trade union activities (as between 1800 and 1824), they were primarily organizations of the relatively better-off. They required their members to have some level of surplus that could be put aside to help out in hard times.

Cooperatives were a third strand in the collectivist tradition. They took various forms but consisted of members pooling their resources to begin some kind of enterprise—such as a mill or a shop—for mutual benefit. The first cooperatives began in Britain in the 1760s. A cooperative flour mill was established by 1760 by shipwrights employed at the government dockyard at Woolwich, London. In Scotland some weavers at Fenwick formed a cooperative society in 1769; it seems to have been the first consumer cooperative in Britain. The links between these forms of collectivist activity were very close; for instance, in 1777 some tailors on strike set up a cooperative workshop in Birmingham. By 1862 there were 450 cooperative societies in England with a total membership of 90,000. The development of these three forms of institutional collectivism among the English working class can be illustrated this way.

ENGLISH WORKING CLASS ORGANIZATIONS, c.1380-1871

Organization	Earliest appearance	Membership in 1871
Trade unions	c.1380	289,000
Friendly societies	c.1630	4,000,000
Cooperatives	c. 1760	268,000

The collectivist strands so far discussed—trade unions, friendly societies and cooperatives—took in only a small minority of the British working class, but they provided a base for expansion once industrialization became more widely established after 1830. Although the membership growth of these collectivist institutions was painfully slow and uncertain before the 1860s, it was vital for socialism to become a mass movement, particularly that of the labor unions. The number of labor union members in Britain in 1860 is not known for certain, but when the Trades Union Congress was formed it claimed 250,000 members among its affiliates in 1869. In the United States, the number of labor union members

has been estimated at 44,000 in 1835, at 200,000 by 1864, and 289,000 in 1870. Although these figures suggest impressive relative growth, but they disguised wild fluctuations.

The working-class collectivist impulse, whose origins have been sketched here, represented one level of response to the challenges, dangers, and opportunities of a dynamic capitalist economy. It was a practical response to some of the obvious pitfalls of that system, namely, its failure to provide security for all citizens and its unequal distribution of income and wealth (q.v.). At the same time, this tradition of collectivism among the working class had its limitations. First, despite its growth in members, only a small minority were enrolled in its ranks. Those who did join tended to be the better-off members of the working class and those who were committed to social advancement. They were the forebears of what Richard Hoggart called in his *The Uses of Literacy* (1957) the "earnest minority" among the working class. Second, they needed leaders and ideas to widen their vision and attain their objectives. After 1860 there was productive cross-fertilization between socialist ideas and working-class institutions. In different ways, leaders and followers came together.

Building a socialist movement, 1864–1914

In accounting for the emergence of socialism as a mass movement, it is tempting to present it as rational, orderly progression and to ignore its irrational aspects expressed in views that were very influential in their day, but have since been conveniently forgotten. The rational side of the growth of socialism—the two Internationals and the formation of mass political parties—is familiar territory in European historical writing. Certainly the formation of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.)—the First International—in London in 1864 was a milestone in socialist history. Marx played a vital role in its early years, activities, and ultimate demise in Philadelphia in 1876. The First International was the first effective international socialist organization. However, a division had already opened up within socialism—between those wanting to achieve socialist objectives by reform and those wanting to achieve those objectives by revolution. Essentially this was a division between British and continental socialists and between anarchists such as Bakunin (q.v.). In Britain those wanting political change could seek it though support for the Liberal Party, whereas on the continent of Western Europe, apart from France, the scope for real political participation was either very limited or nonexistent. Despite a confused start, the Second International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) was formed in Paris in 1889 and managed to provide a forum for all shades of socialist opinion (apart from the anarchists after 1896).

Marxism (q.v.)—the doctrines that were constructed from Marx's many

writings—found particular appeal in Western Europe after 1880 and became the theoretical underpinning for social democratic parties throughout continental Europe. The most important program in this respect was the Erfurt Program of the German Social Democratic Party (qq. v.) of 1891. British socialism, which was carried into to the British empire by emigration, remained largely impervious to formal theory (the Independent Labour Party (q.v.) being a significant exception) and stressed practical ends. Britain was important too because of the strength of the liberal tradition. Liberalism, or its left wing as represented by John Stuart Mill (q.v.), went on to play an important role in British socialism.

The raw growth figures for working-class and socialist institutions in this period are impressive. Between 1870 and 1913 the number of labor union members worldwide rose from 790,000 to 14 million. The individual memberships of socialist or social democratic parties rose from virtually nothing (for example, there were only about 24,400 members in Germany in 1875) to about 1.7 million in 1914. Worldwide, socialist or social democratic parties attracted 9.9 million votes in elections on the eve of World War I. The consumer cooperative movement also grew strongly; in the United Kingdom, its total membership rose from 268,000 to three million between 1870 and 1914.

From this angle, socialism could be presented as a rational movement, as an attempt to capture the benefits of the Industrial Revolution and use them for the common good. Their political parties and their theories, especially when backed by a philosopher of the stature of Karl Marx, have attracted the bulk of attention from scholars of socialism. Yet there was another side to these activities that must not be overlooked, since it was also of great significance in building socialism as a mass movement: dreams and aspirations. Socialism emerged at a time when faith in organized religion (q.v.) had begun to wane and people began to search for a replacement that would satisfy deeper psychological needs. In Germany and elsewhere on continental Europe the socialist movement was much more than a political party: it was a way of life. There were socialist schools, literature, poems and music—even socialist cemeteries. Many individuals became socialists in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by a process frequently described as "conversion." Neither was it unusual for individual socialists to practice their ideals by abstaining from alcohol and tobacco (*see* Temperance).

Another way to approach the developments within socialism in this period is to consider socialist themes in utopian literature. Socialism was an affair of the heart as well as the mind. A bibliography of this literature prepared by Lyman T. Sargent in 1988 defined utopian literature as works

that provided detailed descriptions of non-existent societies. Such works can include *eutopias* (nonexistent societies that are better than the contemporary society of the reader), *dystopias* (nonexistent societies that are worse than the contemporary society of the reader), and, utopian satires, that offer criticisms of contemporary societies or of those proposed by others. Socialist themes cover general descriptions of socialist societies, anarchism, Christian socialism, communes and, since 1919, communism. Utopian literature has been used by the opponents of socialism as well as by its proponents. Sargent's bibliography lists 217 works of utopian literature published between 1813 and 1985 that contained socialist themes of some kind: of these 130 were prosocialist or sympathetic and 87 were antisocialist or satirical.

It is interesting to note that the chronological distribution of prosocialist utopian literature is an accurate reflection of the growth of socialism generally. Between 1880 and 1889 12 prosocialist works were published; this was as many had been published in English in the whole period from 1813 to 1879. Between 1890 and 1899 30 prosocialist utopian works were published and thirty more from 1900 to 1909. Thereafter the number of these works gradually dropped off (*see* Table 1, Statistical Appendix). In other words, of the 130 prosocialist utopian works that were published in English between 1813 and 1985, no less than 72 or 55 percent were published between 1880 and 1909.

Today these works, which go largely unread, are an embarrassment. Yet they reached large audiences in their day. Who that audience was exactly will never be known for certain, but enough is known of British working-class reading habits in the 1900s to suggest that, apart from Richard Hoggart's "earnest minority" of the skilled working class, much of the market must have been among other social classes, most likely the lower middle class, particularly those in white-collar jobs.

The best known American popularizers of socialism or social reform were Henry George (q.v.)—an ironic inclusion given his opposition to socialism—whose *Progress and Poverty* (1879) fired interest in social reform and sold 60,000 copies in Britain in the early 1880s and Edward Bellamy (q.v.) whose *Looking Backward* (1888) was another best-seller. Yet the greatest sales were achieved by a man whose very name is usually passed over in most secondary works of socialism: Robert Peel Glanville Blatchford (q.v.). His *Merrie England* (1894) sold 2 million copies in English and in translation in other languages, and is credited with doing more to popularize socialism than any other work published in the late nineteenth century.

Merrie England, as Martin Weiner pointed out in his *English Culture and the Decline of the Industrial Spirit, 1850-1980* (1981) is part of the

anti-industrial literature that was a common theme of British socialists such as William Morris (q.v.). Despite, (or perhaps because of it) being the cradle of the Industrial Revolution, England continued to produce literature antagonistic toward industrialization. Blatchford denounced the factory system and saw rural life as the basis for socialism (*see* Agriculture). William Morris's *News from Nowhere* (1890) also saw the socialist future in pastoral terms. A study of British Labour Party parliamentarians in 1906 found that the writers and works that most influenced them (apart from the Bible) were Charles Dickens, John Ruskin, and Thomas Carlyle, writers who were often concerned with the negative aspects of industrialization and the positive side of the countryside.

These rural myths were by no means peculiar to the nineteenth century. Consider the strange case of George Lansbury who was leader of the British Labour Party (qq. v.) from 1931 to 1935. In *My England* (1934) he opposed the re-planning of Britain's coal mining and industrial regions and instead urged their transformation into parks as part of his re-creation of rural, "merry" England, complete with village greens and maypoles. This undercurrent of yearning for a simpler, preindustrial life (that conveniently ignored the harsh realities of that world) should not be underestimated as a theme of socialist aspirations.

The socialist movement also fed on discontent of many forms. The oppressive conditions in which the working class toiled were the most obvious and best-known single source, but there were others. Socialism, by its inclusive nature, attracted the outsiders of society. Jews (q.v.), the quintessential outsiders of European society, have played an especially prominent role in developing socialist ideas and in building socialism as a mass movement in central Europe. Persons born into illegitimacy who had to endure the social stigma attached to it, have also played a role in socialism. Flora Tristan, Ernest Bevin, Keir Hardie, and Ramsay MacDonald (qq. v.) were all born illegitimate. The net result of all this was a whirlpool of a movement that drew in ideas and aspirations of many kinds. Thus socialism grew relatively quickly, but it also carried with it a greater tendency to fragment.

The schisms of socialism

Any movement that sets out to change the world is subject to splits and divisions. These schisms have been particularly important in the history of socialism. Before 1914 these splits had sometimes assumed institutional form, but not always. The very different histories of the French Socialist Party and the German Social Democratic Party (qq. v.) were cases in point. The grounds for disagreements were many, but the greatest one was between the reformers—those who wanted to implement socialist ideas by peaceful, constitutional means—and the revolutionaries, those who wanted

to implement these ideas by revolution. The following schema gives a broad view of the schisms that have occurred in socialism since 1880 in terms of their attitude toward political power.

THE MAIN VARIETIES OF SOCIALISM SINCE 1880

REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION		REFORMIST TRADITION
	Centralized political power	
Marxist		**English socialist**
Leninism (1910s-1920s) Communist parties (1920 onward) Stalinism (1930s-1950s) Trotskyism (1930s onward) Maoism (1950s, 1960s)	French Possibilists (1880s) Revisionism (1890s) European Socialist/ Social Democratic parties (1890s onward) Revived social democratic parties in Eastern Europe (1989 onward)	Labor parties in Australia, United Kingdom, and New Zealand (1890s onward)
Reformed former European communist parties (1990 onward)		
	Decentralized political power	
Marxist	**Non-Marxist**	
New Left (1960s)	Anarchism (1880s) Syndicalism (pre-1914) Anarcho-syndicalism (1910s)	Guild socialism (1910s)
	Hybrid political traditions	
	African Socialism (1950s)	
	Arab Socialism (1950s)	

Diagrams have their uses as explanatory devices, but they are too crude to capture the range and subtlety of opinions in any mass, democratic movement. Syndicalism, for instance, was a radical movement in the pre-1914 years in France, but later broke up with some of its supporters joining the communists, some joining the socialists and, in Italy, some joining the fascists. Attitudes toward revolution also differed markedly. Karl Johann Kautsky and Rosa Luxemburg (qq. v.) both envisaged capitalism's ending violently as the result of its own defects, but saw this violence coming from spontaneous uprisings by the working class. They did not support Lenin (q.v.) and Trotsky's concept of a coup by a well-organized group that would then impose its version of socialism by dictatorship and violence. (*see* Communism)

The Bolshevik seizure of power in Russia in 1917 fundamentally altered the balance between reformists and revolutionaries within socialism and colored subsequent socialist historiography. With the resources of a major country at this disposal—and it needs to be remembered that despite its backwardness Russia was the world's tenth industrial power in 1910—the revolutionary socialists were able to denigrate the reformers by propaganda and weaken their opponents by forming communist parties throughout the world from 1920 (*see* Comintern). The communist parties provided an institutional focus for left-wing groups, which had previously been accommodated within single parties. The extent of the damage to social democratic parties varied between countries. It was severe in France, far less so in Britain, but everywhere their support was undercut for much of the interwar period which promoted the rise of fascism. The social democratic parties formed their own international body, the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.), which claimed 6.6 million members at its height in 1928. But it wilted after the Depression and was able to achieve little.

Fascism was the mirror image of socialism. It too had roots deep in European thought and represented a reaction to the social and economic changes brought by industrialization and urbanization. It tapped different roots of discontent, specifically among the lower middle class and the rural dwellers, groups conspicuously underrepresented in the membership of the social democratic parties of Europe (*see* Membership of Socialist/Social Democratic Political Parties). Trapped between communism and fascism, socialism was effectively snuffed out throughout most of Western Europe until 1945.

The end of World War II saw a strong revival in support for social democracy. In the elections held between 1945 and 1947 social democratic parties received between 41 and 50 percent of the vote in Austria, Norway,

Sweden, United Kingdom, Australia, and New Zealand. In other countries, social democrats participated in government though coalitions. Their main achievements were in laying the basis for the welfare state, a process begun in the 1930s by social democratic parties in Sweden and New Zealand. The main problem faced by most of these parties was communist competition and the onset of the cold war after 1948. In that year the social democratic parties of Hungary, Romania, Poland, and Czechoslovakia were forcibly merged with the communist parties in those countries; this happened in the Soviet zone of Germany (later East Germany) in 1946.

Social democratic parties, notably those with radical-sounding programs, such as those of Germany and Austria, were forced to distance themselves from the communists by adopting substantially modified programs (*see* Godesberg Program) in 1958 and 1959. In affirming their support for democracy, what had been the democratic socialist tradition merged with the left-wing of what had been the tradition of liberalism (q.v.). The timing of this process differed greatly between countries according to their political environments. The French Socialist Party (q.v.) issued a radical, but non-Marxist program in 1972. Marxist references were removed from the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (q.v.) in 1972 and from the Portuguese Socialist Party (q.v.) in 1986.

These changes worked together to further dilute the meaning of socialism. Although the social democratic parties continued as before in Western Europe, Australia, and New Zealand, the term itself was increasingly appropriated by radicals such as the ex-communists who made up the nucleus of what became the New Left (q.v.). Nevertheless, the broad tradition of social democracy continued despite criticism from left-wing groups that it was no longer socialist in any meaningful sense.

The difficulty of identifying who is socialist and who is not is reflected in the membership changes of the Socialist International (q.v.). Formed in 1951 in the depths of the Cold War, the Socialist International began with 28 full member parties, of which 20 were in Europe. By 1969 there had been only one net addition to this membership, but by 1996 its full membership has grown to 69, of which 22 were in Western Europe, nine were in southern and eastern Europe, 20 were in the Caribbean and Latin America, and 6 were in Africa. These additions to the Socialist International included parties in Latin America with revolutionary pasts and former communist parties. In 1992 the Italian Democratic Party of the Left, the former Italian Communist Party, was admitted to full membership. Another interesting addition was the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (q.v.); originally formed in 1892, it was suppressed in 1948 but not formally banned. It was revived in March 1991. The admission of parties such as the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party was

significant not just for broadening the membership base of the Socialist International, but for re-establishing a broken historical tradition.

SOCIALISM AND SOCIETY

Socialism and the state

Socialists of all shades of opinion in the nineteenth century could agree on the necessity to change the economic and social order, but disagreed how on how it should be done and, less obviously, about what sort of sort of society they wanted in the end. The first great divide occurred between those socialists who wished to retain the centralized power of the nation-state and those who wanted to decentralize political power and even great rid of national boundaries. The latter point of view was one generally shared by the followers of anarchism and its effective founder, Proudhon (qq. v.), who seems to have wanted to replace the nation-state with federations of autonomous communes (*see* Federalism).

As a defeated movement associated with terrorism and condemned by no less a person than Karl Marx, anarchism may be regarded as the lunatic fringe of socialism. Yet it was regarded as an integral part of socialism until the late 1870s, and it had a large following in France, Italy, Spain, and Latin America into the 1930s. Terrorist acts were carried out in its name, but (except in the Russian empire) such acts were not organized and were the work of isolated individuals. The anarchist violence that occurred in Latin countries took place in a general climate of violence and oppression. Nevertheless, the emphasis of anarchism on individual freedom and its hostility to authoritarianism in any form makes it worthy of respect. Although devoid of the revolutionary connotations of anarchism, other strands of socialism such as guild socialism (q.v.), have also envisaged a reduction in the power of central governments.

Of course this decentralized socialist tradition ultimately failed, and the centralized socialist tradition in various forms succeeded. Socialists before 1914 generally wanted to win the political power of the nation-state and to use it for good ends aś they saw them. Anarchism was an embarrassment, for it prevented socialism from attaining the respect and respectability it need to win elections and be trusted with power. Yet the questions remained: What would socialism do if it gained political power? and What sort of society did it wish to make?

With very little likelihood of political power before 1914, socialist thought tended to be concerns with dreams, ideals, and aspirations. As mentioned, the 1890s and 1900s were heyday of utopian socialist literature. Nearly all of the important ideas of socialism were worked out in this period, but the mechanics of actually winning political power, let alone exercising it, were largely ignored. The participation of Alexandre

Millerand (q.v.) in the French government between 1899 and 1902 may have offended the ideological purists of European socialism, but his example also showed that a socialist in a position of power could achieve significant reforms. A survey of 29 leading European socialists in 1899 found that 12 supported the participation of socialists in governments and 17 were against; most of these 17 respondents lived in countries where socialists had little real chance of gaining political power. Revisionism (q.v.) also caused offense, but not as much as is generally claimed.

The issue of what do with political power assumed greater importance after 1914, when European socialists began to gain some experience of government for the first time usually as members of coalition governments or as minority governments. In the 1930s electoral victories by social democratic parties in Sweden (1932), New Zealand, and Denmark (1935) laid the foundations for the welfare state (q.v.) in these countries, initiatives that were taken up more widely after World War II. Indeed the welfare state could be regarded as the main achievement of post-1945 socialist governments. Intended to alleviate, if not solve, problems long a part of capitalism namely unemployment and economic insecurity, the welfare state has been subjected to increasing criticism since the 1970s for increasing taxation and reducing economic performance, but it was the first concerted attempt to humanely resolve problems that had previously been regarded as insoluble or outside the province of government. Similarly, the goal of nationalization (q.v.), a common policy of socialist governments, was to end exploitation of employees and to improve the distribution of wealth (q.v.) rather than pursue efficient management for its own sake.

Socialism and society: a balance sheet

More than a century ago, socialism set out to change the world, to make it more just, more equal, and more fair. The extent to which it succeeded in that objective is indicated by the programs of the various socialist/social democratic parties of the 1890s. At the time they were drafted, they were the cutting edge of political radicalism with their demands for free, equal and direct suffrage (q.v.), equal rights for women (q.v.), freedom of association, the private nature of religion (q.v.), graduated taxation (q.v.) of income and wealth, the replacement of standing armies by militia, an eight-hour working day, prohibition of child labor, and, night work, and regulation of women's labor. In fact, so much of what they advocated has come to pass that it is easy to take these programs for granted.

This is not to suggest that socialism alone was responsible for the implementation of these measures. Graduated taxation, for example, was introduced by nonsocialist as well as by socialist governments as an effective means for raising revenue, especially to meet the demands of two world wars. Similarly, nonsocialist governments have also developed the welfare state. It could be argued that many of these reforms would have

happened anyway, with or without socialist pressure. But it was socialism that first placed these items on the political agenda and actively campaigned for their implementation when they were hardly fashionable. The Erfurt Program (q.v.), for example, advocated that international disputes be settled by arbitration, not war (q.v.), a highly advanced opinion for its time, and one whose failure has haunted much of the twentieth century.

Neither must it be thought that socialism has always embodied the best qualities humanity has to offer. It was relatively easy for socialism before 1914 to seem like a golden age of idealism with its justifiable criticism of the gross inequalities of power and wealth of its day, the unremitting toil and low quality of life endured by the working class and the moral bankruptcy of capitalist competition. Distant from the levers of political power, the socialists could be on the side of the angels—such is the luxury of critics. Ugly facts of life such as anti-Semitism, ethnic violence, and racism (q.v.) were often explained away by socialists as evil devices invented and manipulated by capitalism to divide the working class and divert it from its struggle with its capitalist masters. There was a presumption that these things would somehow disappear if capitalism disappeared too. Today that view seems absurdly naïve, but it did typify a certain impracticality with regard to the many difficult and deep-seated problems raised by social reform.

With their accession to political power in varying degrees after 1914, socialist/social democratic parties were forced to come to terms with the realities of political life—the decisions and compromises that are part and parcel of politics. Understandably, the marriage of ideals and raised expectations with the constraint of limited resources was often a difficult one. Long-held principles or commitments such as nationalization (q.v.) were difficult to implement, as in Austria in the late 1940s and early 1950s, or electorally unpopular, as in Australia in 1949 when the Australian Labor Party (q.v.), then the federal government, wanted to nationalize the banks; the move was one reason why the government was defeated in the election that year. Governments attract critics and social democratic governments have been no exception. One criticism has been that they have not catered to their working-class or middle-class constituents and that this has led to a decline in the loyalty of the working class.

Left-wing critics, especially those of the New Left (q.v.), have often criticized socialist/social democratic parties and governments for not doing enough to fundamentally reform the capitalist system, with the result that their policies tend to reinforce and perpetuate the system. They have also

been criticized for being too conservative in foreign policy as, for example, their acceptance of the deployment of nuclear weapons in Europe. The welfare state has also been criticized on the grounds of forcing too much of the cost of retirement onto those least able to afford it and by creating poverty traps.

Since the 1950s there has been a gradual loss of faith in many of the former socialist priorities by socialist/social democratic governments. In order to get themselves elected, these parties need to appeal to a broad spectrum of the electorate. Reliance on the "working class" is not enough as about a third of them typically vote for nonsocial democratic parties. Problems of economic management have come to the foreground since the mid-1970s. In both Australia and New Zealand, governing labor parties in the 1980s pursued policies, particularly with regard to privatization and reductions in government expenditure, that were more associated with conservative governments.

ASSESSMENT AND PROSPECTS

From unpromising beginnings in the early nineteenth century among a motley group of European thinkers to its alliance with organized labor from the 1860s, socialism has had a remarkable history. It fed on the discontent of its times and directed that discontent into constructive channels. Under the influence of Karl Marx, it asked new kinds of questions about the workings of society. It created a literature that showed how society might be in the future and in process inspired millions. Seen in a wider context, socialism was a positive response to the challenge and disorientation of industrialization and urbanization. Like all movements, it had its backward-looking aspects but, by and large, socialism stood for worthwhile changes. Socialism stressed the better side of human nature—cooperation, equality and fraternity—its essential humanity. Its main difficulty was that the world it wanted to change before 1914 could not always be changed peaceably. As Machiavelli had observed in his *Discourses* 400 years earlier, states whose people have never known liberty find it hard to attain. Thus the autocracy that was the Russian Empire was replaced by the relatively efficient communist autocracy after 1917. Countries without a tradition of liberal democracy find it extremely difficult to acquire one.

Traditionally, the study of the history of the last two centuries has been concerned with the cutting blade of change with topics such as the rise of nation states, capitalism, the Industrial Revolution, urbanization, and international migration being staple areas for study. Socialism fits easily into this positive view of historical change, but it just as important to

realize that the pace of economic and social change can be highly uneven and that many parts of society can be left behind.

Fascism, the nemesis of socialism in the interwar years in continental Europe, could also be represented as a response to these same forces, particularly industrialization and urbanization—a negative one. It was the reverse of socialism. Instead of universal brotherhood, it exalted race; instead of equality and democracy it exalted obedience to authority, and instead of cooperation it exalted war and violence as a means of cleansing society of those members who did not fit in. Whereas socialism envisaged women as full members of society entitled to all the opportunities of men, fascism regarded them as permanently second-class. Like some of the late nineteenth-century socialists, fascism looked back wistfully to the pre-industrial age. Fascism inherently distrusted reason and the rational. It was the revenge of the small rural communities and their petty prejudices against the big cities. It is hardly surprising that socialism and socialists were its foremost enemies.

The reemergence of socialism since 1945 in Western Europe was extraordinary, given the years of fascist persecution, but socialism itself was warped by the politics of the Cold War. In the West socialist/social democratic parties were usually able to participate in government; in the East they were forced to become part of ruling communist parties. The revival of social democracy in Eastern Europe since 1989 and the apparent conversion of communist parties into social democratic parties is both fascinating and inspiring. It has amounted to nothing less than a resurgence of the whole democratic tradition of socialism and a triumph of the human spirit.

Not everyone within the socialist movement has been happy about the changes which have occurred to democratic socialism since 1945. The earlier generations of socialists seem to have had something the later ones lacked—a faith to fight for. Material improvement has cooled the passion for change; the working class became materialistic—as if they had ever been anything else—and got some share of the prosperity of the post-1945 years.

The increasing role of the middle class in socialist institutions has also been cause for concern. Yet there was nothing new about their participation. It may have offended vulgar Marxist ideology—the idea of members of a class working against the economic interests of that class—but otherwise it is hard to see how socialism could have emerged as a movement without the active support of its educated middle-class members. It needs to be remembered that leaders like Attlee, Brandt, Bernstein, Jaures, and Blum (qq. v.) had a choice. They could have opted

for safe, well-paid careers. Instead, they committed themselves to a cause which was difficult, poorly paid, potentially dangerous, and whose prospects for success must have seemed remote. In so doing, they, and their movement, helped to make the world a better place.

The landslide election victory of the British Labour Party under Tony Blair (q.v.) on May 1, 1997 has been widely interpreted as a watershed in modern democratic socialism not just for Britain but for other countries too. Following a campaign in which the traditional touchstones of socialist policies such as nationalization and income redistribution based on taxation and spending—even the very word socialism itself—were conspicuously avoided, it may be that long-standing chapters in socialism have indeed been closed, or it might simply mean that new ways have to be found to promote the policies democratic socialists have always supported. Certainly the underlying problems socialism was formed to redress—issues such as inequality, unemployment and poverty—have not disappeared and until they do, socialism, in some form, is bound to endure.

THE DICTIONARY

ACCIÓN DEMOCRÁTICA (*See* Democratic Action)

ADLER, VICTOR (1852-1918) Adler was the founder of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.). Born of a well-to-do Jewish family in Prague, he qualified as a medical practitioner in Vienna in 1881. He developed an interest in politics and became a socialist following a journey through Germany, Switzerland, and England in 1883, when he met Friedrich Engels and August Bebel (qq.v.). In 1886 he founded a socialist weekly newspaper, *Die Gleichheit* (Equality) which was banned in 1889. He founded a replacement newspaper, the *Arbeiter Zeitung* (Workers' Newspaper) which established itself as the main vehicle of socialism in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. In 1888 he was the main force behind the founding of the Austrian Social Democratic Party, which was formally launched in 1889. Adler intended the party to provide a place for all the ethnic groups of the empire, but in 1911 the Czechs formed their own social democratic party. He was elected to the Landtag (parliament) in 1905 and led the struggle for universal suffrage, which was granted in 1907. Adler opposed World War I and sought its peaceful ending. After the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, he argued that the remnant of Austria should become part of Germany. (*See also* Austrian Social Democratic Workers'/Socialist Party, Karl Renner)

AFRICAN SOCIALISM A general term for an eclectic mixture of traditional collectivist African political and economic practices, social democracy, and communism that began in the early 1950s as newly independent African nations adjusted to the postcolonial era. The best-known example of African socialism was carried out in Tanzania. In 1967 all large businesses were nationalized, and villages were developed as economic units based on cooperative ownership of production, distribution and exchange. (*See also* Arab Socialism, League of African Democratic Socialist Parties)

AFRICAN SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (*See* League of African Democratic Socialist Parties)

AGRICULTURE With its focus on industrial and urban life, socialism was inclined to neglect agriculture. Although the problems of agriculture, namely the exploitation of the peasantry, debt, and land ownership, were acknowledged early by Marx (q.v.), there was an often unspoken assumption in socialist thought before 1920 that agriculture, particularly its social organization, represented the past, whereas industries and cities represented the future. In fact, agriculture remained a fundamental feature of European life in the first third of the twentieth century. It has been estimated that 70 percent of all Europeans were rural dwellers in 1900 and that this proportion had only fallen to 47 percent by 1940. Similarly, the progress of urbanization was often uneven between countries. England and Wales were highly unusual by having a majority of their residents as urban dwellers as early as 1851. This development did not occur in Germany and Australia until 1891, in Argentina until 1914, in the United States until 1920, and in France until 1931.

The early programs of the social democratic/socialist parties—with the notable exception of the Belgian Worker's Socialist Party (q.v.)—paid little regard to agriculture. The preamble to the Erfurt Program (q.v.) of 1891 included peasant proprietors in its claims of the general impoverishment and degradation of labor under capitalism (q.v.), but made no specific demands for assisting agriculture other than calling for agricultural laborers and domestic servants to be given the same legal rights as industrial laborers, a strange omission given that 37.5 per cent of Germany's labor force worked in agriculture in 1895. In contrast, the program of the Belgian Workers' Socialist Party of 1893 called for the nationalization (q.v.) of forests; the reconstitution of or development of common lands; and the progressive assumption by the state or communes of the ownership of agricultural lands. Section C of the its economic program was entirely devoted to agriculture.

During the 1890s the need for socialism to appeal to the agricultural sector was recognized as a serious problem by Karl Kautsky, (q.v.), George von Vollar (1850-1922), the leader of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) in Bavaria, Jean Jaurés in France and Émile Vandervelde (q.v.) in Belgium, but as a movement, socialism found it hard to win support from most agricultural areas. Where rural discontent was widespread, as in Italy, Spain, and much of eastern Europe, it often took a violent

form which favored anarchism (q.v.) rather than parliamentary democracy, which most socialists before 1920 supported. Rural dwellers tended to be less educated and so less amenable to socialist propaganda. Many lived in small communities (even in Germany, 40 percent of the population lived in communities of less than 2,000 people in 1910), which made it hard to market doctrines that were based on general notions of society rather than community. The result was that European socialism as a movement generally failed to recruit its fair share of supporters from rural areas and remained a movement of the cities. This was reflected in the composition of the membership of social democratic parties as well as in their vote in elections by region. (*See also* Membership of Socialist/Social Democratic Political Parties)

AIMS AND TASKS OF DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM (*See* Frankfurt Declaration)

AMERICAN LABOR PARTY The American Labor Party was a progressive political party formed in New York State by representatives of the Congress of Industrial Organizations and over 200 labor unions (q.v.) in 1936. The party drew much of its support from working-class Jews (q.v.) in New York City and provided valuable electoral support for Franklin Roosevelt. In 1944 many of the party's supporters withdrew because of communist infiltration. The party attracted 509,000 votes in the 1948 presidential election when it opposed Harry Truman and backed the Progressive Party candidate, Henry A. Wallace. The party had little effect after 1948 and was disbanded in 1956. (*See also* Socialist Party of America)

ANARCHISM The term *anarchism* was derived from an ancient Greek word meaning "without government." As such, anarchism was synonymous with chaos and lawlessness. As a political philosophy, that is the regarding of the absence of government as a positive thing, it owed much to Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (q.v.), who saw the state as a negative element in society that should be abolished. In 1840 he published *Qu'est-ce la propriété?* (What is Property?), an inquiry into the purpose of governments, his best-known work although it was not translated into English until 1890. Proudhon was one of the few socialist theorists to come from the working class

(q.v.) which he considered morally superior to the bourgeoisie. His ideas were taken up by others and developed into anarchism, which in turn influenced the rise of syndicalism.

Michael Alexandrovich Bakunin, an extremist Russian political thinker, propagandist, and activist, absorbed Proudhon's ideas and was one of the leading anarchists of the nineteenth century. Anarchism, as envisaged by Bakunin, sought the overthrow of the state by a general strike and its replacement by democratically run cooperative groups covering the whole economy. He stressed the liberty of the individual and was opposed to religion except as a matter of individual conscience. The growth of anarchism could also be seen as an expression of nineteenth century romanticism, particularly in its emphasis on the importance of the individual and the need for violence against institutions and individuals it judged to be fundamentally evil. Anarchism attracted support from certain intellectuals and from people who live in rural areas where the local political and economic institutions were repressive and ignored demands for reform. It drew much support from Spain and Italy, where it formed a strand of political thinking with syndicalism. Anarchists held international conferences in Europe in 1873, 1874, 1876, and 1877. In 1881 Peter Kropotkin (q.v.) and other anarchist leaders organized the *Alliance Internationale Ouvrière* (International Alliance of Workers) with branches in France, Italy, and the United States.

Anarchists were Marx's bitterest opponents during the 1860s and 1870s. He moved the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) to New York in 1872 so as to prevent it from falling into their hands. Nevertheless, up to the 1880s anarchism was widely accepted as part of socialism. Where it deviated from the other socialists was in its advocacy and practice of violence, or the "propaganda by deed" by some of its individuals. Anarchists assassinated the czar of Russia (1881), the French president (1894), the empress of Austria (1898), the king of Italy (1900) and the American president (1901). In May 1886 a bomb blast at a meeting called by anarchists in Haymarket Square in Chicago over the killing of four strikers led to the deaths of a policeman and seven others. Outside of the Russian empire, these acts of violence were generally the work of individuals, not groups.

Socialists came realize by that whatever their differences, they had to distance themselves as much as possible from the anarchists who were excluded from conferences of the Second International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) from 1896. In Spain the anarchists formed their own federation, the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo* (National Confederation of Workers), and anarchists remained important until their destruction during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39). Immigration spread anarchist ideas to Latin America; in 1919 the anarchists attempted to form a federation covering the whole of Latin America. As a movement, anarchism was a feature of socialism in Europe until it was literally killedoff by fascism in the 1920s in Italy, in the 1930s in Germany and during the Spanish Civil War (q.v.) at the instigation of the communists. (*See also* Anarcho-Syndicalism. Anti-Socialist Law, Communes, Michael Alexandrovich Bakunin, Federalism, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, Sacco-Vanzetti Case, Syndicalism, George Woodcock)

ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM Anarcho-syndicalism was a synthesis of anarchism and syndicalism (qq.v.) that emerged in the late 1900s in France, Russia, Spain, and Latin America. Sympathetic labor unions provided anarchism with an organizational base to promote its idea of the use of industrial action to bring about radical social and economic change. In Sweden, an anarcho-syndicalist federation was formed in 1910 after the general strike of 1909 failed; it had 4,500 members in 1914, but 30,000 by 1920. Anarcho-syndicalists set up the International of Revolutionary Syndicalists (q.v.) in 1922. (*See also* Anarchism, International of Revolutionary Syndicalists, Syndicalism; Table 2, Statistical Appendix)

ANTISOCIALIST LAW The Antisocialist Law (*Sozialistengesetz*) was a repressive measure of Otto von Bismarck which was passed to halt the growth of socialism in Germany in 1878. It used as a pretext two unsuccessful assassination attempts on the kaiser, Wilhelm I, by radical individuals acting on their own initiative. The legislation, which had to be renewed every three years, was aimed at organizations that sought to overthrow the established political or social order or upset the harmony of the social classes. The law was directed primarily against the German Social Democratic Party (GSDP) (q.v.) and was used to harass its activities. The law was

allowed to lapse in 1890 with the fall of Bismarck. While it was in force, 900 people were expelled from their homes and 1,500 were imprisoned. It should be noted that the lifting of the Antisocialist Law did not mean that the GSDP was able to operate in a free legal environment because there was continued, though less intense harassment from the Prussian law of associations (*Vereinsgesetz*) which operated until 1919. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party)

ARAB SOCIALISM Arab socialism is a general term for a fusion of ideas taken from Islam and socialism, particularly Fabianism (q.v.). It arose in the mid-1950s and was largely supported by Western-influenced middle-class groups, mainly public servants, army officers, and teachers. Arab socialism advocated the Islamic religion, land redistribution, freedom of association, social welfare programs, Arab solidarity, and state economic planning but with the continuance of a private sector. (*See also* African Socialism, *Baath*)

ARGENTINIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (ASP) Socialist organizations in Argentina began in the 1870s when immigrants formed sections of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). But like the parent body, they were destroyed by conflicts between socialists and anarchists. Some German immigrants set up a socialist club in 1882, but it had no appeal to non-German residents. From 1890 socialism began to emerge in a more durable form. In May 1890 the congress of Argentina refused to consider a petition organized by socialists and signed by 7,000 residents calling for an eight-hour day and other labor and social reforms. The advance of socialism in Argentina was slowed not just by its lack of industrialization and the colonial nature of its economy, but also by ethnic divisions caused by mass immigration from Europe. In the early 1890s, for example, separate socialist bodies were formed by French and Italian speakers. Finally in 1894 some middle-class professionals and skilled tradesmen formed the *Partido Socialista Obrero International* (International Socialist Workers' Party) that sent representatives to the Second International (q.v.).

Unlike the social democratic/socialist parties of continental Europe, the ASP adopted and adhered to a very moderate program with no Marxist analysis of the wrongs of the capitalist economy. It

confined itself to reasonable objectives such as the eight-hour day, free collective bargaining, limited labor for women and children, and a graduated income tax. The very moderation of the ASP meant that it was unable to compete with anarchism (q.v.), which was the most important external influence on the Argentinian labor movement. Despite a very restricted suffrage (q.v.) before 1912, the ASP was able to get its leader Alfredo L. Palacios elected to the congress in 1904. He used his position to introduce laws regulating the working hours of women and children. Even so, the ASP faced strong competition from the anarchists in winning the allegiance of the working class and the progressive parts of the middle class.

During the 1900s the anarchists organized large-scale strikes for better conditions and wages. Attempts to form a united socialist organization with the anarchists in 1890 and 1901 failed. Jean Jaurès (q.v.) and the Italian socialist Enrico Ferri (1856-1929) both visited Argentina in the 1900s but were unable to increase support for socialism. Support for the ASP was largely confined to Buenos Aires and it failed to build a base of support among the emigrants, many of whom avoided becoming naturalized (and hence eligible to vote) because of the obligation of military service. Thus by 1914 the ASP only had about 5,000 members in a country where the friendly societies (q.v.) could claim 255,500 members and even the trade unions claimed 23,000 members.

Nationalism (q.v.) and radicalism further weakened the ASP. In 1913 a group of nationalists led by Manuel Ugarte (1878-1932), a poet, split from the ASP. In 1917 the left wing broke away and became a communist party. In 1925 the ASP joined the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.), but in 1927 the ASP split again when a nationalist group left and formed an independent socialist party. The Labor and Socialist International tried unsuccessfully to reunite the parties. In 1930 the ASP sided with the Liberal Party against a military coup that was supported by the independent socialists; as a result, the independent socialists lost support. After electoral defeat in 1936 the ASP suffered another split, this time by those who wanted a unified front with the communists. In 1938-39 the ASP was reorganized but its appeal remained confined to Buenos Aires. In the 1940 election it succeeded in only returning 17 out of 158 deputies in the lower house. During the rule of Perón (1946-55), the ASP and other independent organizations were the targets of

sustained persecution. In 1953 the headquarters of the ASP was attacked and the printing presses of the party's newspaper, *La Vanguardia* (The Vanguard) which had been published since 1894 were destroyed. The ASP was only able to operate again after Perón's overthrow. It had some members in the cabinet until democratic government ceased in 1966. The ASP remained a moderate party. Its program of the early 1960s opposed imperialism (q.v.), and cooperation with the communists. It supported democracy, disarmament, and land reform. The ASP was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) from 1951.

Under repressive military rule, political parties were banned in Argentina between March 1976 to December 1979; those that did not support "totalitarian ideologies" were permitted after that time, but the general ban was not lifted formally until July 1982. Under the stress of these conditions, the left wing, including the ASP, fragmented. A confused kaleidoscope of left-of-center parties emerged, none of which attracted mass support. Three new parties were formed by the supporters of the former ASP: the Democratic Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Democrático*) in about 1982, the Popular Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Popular*) in about 1984, and the Authentic Socialist Party (*Partido Socialista Auténtico*); of these only the Popular Socialist Party enjoyed membership of the Socialist International. In April 1994 the three parties created Socialist Unity (*Unidad Socialista*) and late in 1994 joined the left-wing Front for a Country with Solidarity (*Frente Pais Solidario*), whose presidential candidate attracted 29.2 percent of the vote in May 1995, a surprising result that made the coalition permanent.

ASIAN SOCIALIST CONFERENCE (ASC) The idea of an international conference of Asian socialist parties was first raised at the Asian Relations Conference in Delhi, India, in March 1947, in an effort to redress what was seen as the Western European emphasis of international socialism. Much of the initiative for the first ASC in Rangoon, Burma, in January 1953 came from Burma. The definition of "Asia" adopted by the organizers of the ASC was deliberately broad and included the Middle East (Lebanon, Syria, Iraq, Egypt, and Israel), the invitation of observers from Tunisia, the Gold Coast, Kenya, Uganda, Nigeria, Morocco, and Algeria as well as a representatives from fraternal international bodies (the Socialist

International, the International Union of Socialist Youth (qq.v.) and the League of Communists of Yugoslavia). Clement Attlee (q.v.) represented the Socialist International. The Asian delegates came from socialist parties in Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia, Pakistan, and India. The themes of the first ASC were opposition to capitalism, communism and imperialism (qq.v.) and support for democracy. The ASC also agreed to set up a permanent administration based on the Consultative Committee of the Socialist International (q.v.) for further conferences.

The second ASC was held in Bombay, India, in November 1956. Representing about 500,000 members of socialist parties, it was dominated by the Suez crisis. The membership of the second ASC was generally the same as at the first except that there were representatives from Cambodia, Sri Lanka, and Vietnam. Also represented for the first time were the Italian Socialist Party (q.v.), the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation, the Popular Socialist Party of Chile, and the Greek Socialist Party. The ASC condemned French and British intervention in Suez and supported the efforts of Hungary and Poland to regain their freedom. It demanded the withdrawal of Soviet forces from Hungary. Other resolutions called for the recognition of the People's Republic of China by the United Nations, the reunification of Korea and the unification of Vietnam.

No further meetings of the ASC were held after 1956 and it ceased to function in 1961. The edifice of unity among Asian socialists that had been erected in the early 1950s did not last. The reasons for the disintegration included crackdowns on socialists by the governments of independent Asian nations of Burma and Indonesia and elsewhere as well as competition from communism. In Asia, most democratic socialist parties were newcomers that were founded after the communist parties, whereas in Europe, North America and Australasia these parties predated communist parties. Asian socialists also had to contend with the absence of a large, educated middle class before the 1960s and with political traditions that were biased toward strong leadership, not democracy. (*See also* Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization, Socialist International)

ASIA-PACIFIC SOCIALIST ORGANIZATION (APSO) The APSO was formed in 1970 in Wellington, New Zealand, as a replacement for the Asian Socialist Conference, which operated

between 1953 and 1961. Originally called the Asia-Pacific Socialist Bureau, the APSO is a committee of the Socialist International (q.v.) and in 1988 represented socialist/social democratic parties in Japan, Malaysia, Australia, and New Zealand. The APSO has been inactive since 1988. (*See also* Asian Socialist Conference, Australian Labor Party, Democratic Action Party, Japan Socialist Party, New Zealand Labour Party, Socialist International)

ATTLEE, CLEMENT RICHARD (1883-1967) British Labour prime minister, Attlee was born into a prosperous middle-class family in London; his father was a solicitor. He studied modern history at Oxford between 1901 and 1903 and later qualified as a lawyer. In 1905 he visited a boy's club in the working-class London suburb of Stepney which was supported by his school. This experience, together with reading works by John Ruskin, William Morris, and Sidney and Beatrice Webb (qq.v.), turned him into a socialist by 1907 and a committed social worker among the working class of east London. He joined the Independent Labour Party (q.v.) and belonged for the next fourteen years. The death of his father in 1908 gave him a basic but assured income that enabled him to give up law and devote his life to politics. In 1912 he was appointed to a lectureship at the London School of Economics. He joined the army in 1914, rose to the rank of major, and was badly wounded at Gallipoli, Turkey. In 1922 he was elected to the House of Commons. He served in both of the Labour cabinets of Ramsay MacDonald (q.v.) in 1924 and 1930-31. He also served on the Simon Commission on India between 1927 and 1930. He was able to avoid the rancor of the breakup of MacDonald's government, retained his seat in the 1931 election and was elected deputy leader of the parliamentary British Labour Party (q.v.). He was elected party leader in 1935 after the resignation of George Lansbury (q.v.) and in 1942 became deputy prime minister in Churchill's wartime coalition government.

In 1945 Attlee became prime minister of Britain's first Labour government. Between July 1945 and July 1947 his government was responsible for the implementation of the Beveridge Report (q.v.), which became the basis for the modern British welfare state (q.v.). He used his specialized knowledge of India to speed up independence for India and Burma in 1947. In foreign policy he

wanted to retain an independent role for Britain. To this end he secretly authorized a costly nuclear weapons (q.v.) program. The public standing of his administration was adversely affected by the financial crisis of August 1947. Attlee lacked an understanding of economics, and his view of socialism tended to stress social administration and Christian teachings. He was defeated in the 1951 elections and made an earl in 1955 when he left the House of Commons. (*See also* British Labour Party, Ernest Bevin)

AURIOL, VINCENT (1884-1966) Moderate French socialist politician, Auriol was born in Revel, Haute Garonne, and studied law at the university of Toulouse. He worked as a journalist and was elected to the Chamber of Deputies in 1914 and was the secretary general of the parliamentary socialists from 1919 to 1935. Between 1936 and 1937 he served as minister of finance, justice and coordination in the government of Léon Blum (q.v.). He was arrested for his opposition to the Pétain government in 1940 and imprisoned, but escaped to Britain where he joined De Gaulle's government in exile. He became minister for state and served as the first president of the Fourth French Republic from 1947 to 1954. His term as president was a difficult one even for so able a mediator as Auriol because of France's severe economic difficulties, chronic political in-fighting and divisions over the war in Indochina (Vietnam). Auriol declined to re-nominate for the presidency in 1954 and in 1960 withdrew from politics. (*See also* Léon Blum, French Socialist Party, Guy Alcide Mollet)

AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY (ALP) The ALP began as separate parties organized by the labor unions (q.v.) and other groups in the then separate Australian colonies between 1891 and 1893. It was strongest in New South Wales, where it was called the Labour Electoral League. The first branch was formed in April 1891 at Balmain, an inner Sydney suburb. The background to the formation of the ALP was the defeat of the labor unions (q.v.) in the great strike of 1890. Labor unions have continued to provide the basis of the ALP ever since. It represented the culmination of efforts to elect working-class representatives to parliament, which began in the late 1870s. It drew much of its inspiration from the British Liberal Party, the main political outlet for the organized English working class in

the nineteenth century. Some of its founding members had been members of the Liberal Party in Britain. One of the parties in Tasmania that formed the ALP in 1893 was called the Progressive Liberal League. At the time of federation of the Australian colonies in 1901, the ALP had been set up in all the states and was contesting federal elections. Its use of a platform of policies and disciplined voting by its elected members began a new era in Australian politics. In time the non-Labor parties also adopted platforms of policies and more disciplined voting by their elected members.

Though usually represented by its opponents as a "left-wing" party, the ALP was from its beginnings a moderate social democratic party, although it did contain some radical groups. There have been two major splits in the ALP. The first was in 1916-17 over military conscription and the second occurred in 1955 over attitudes toward communism.

The ALP was the national government in 1908-9, 1910-13, 1914-15, 1929-32, 1941-49, 1972-74 and 1983-96. In the Australian states, the ALP governed New South Wales in 1910-16, 1920-22, 1925-27, 1930-32, 1941-65, 1976-88, and 1995 to date; in Victoria in 1913, 1924, 1927-28, 1929-32, 1943, 1945-47, 1952-55, and 1982-92; in Queensland in 1915-29, 1932-57, and 1989-96; in South Australia in 1905-9 (with the Liberals); 1910-12, 1915-17, 1924-27, 1930-33, 1967-68, 1970-79, and 1982-93; in Western Australia in 1904-5, 1911-16, 1921-30, 1933-47, 1953-59, and 1983-93; in Tasmania in 1909, 1914-16, 1923-28, 1934-69, 1972-82, and 1989-92 (with the support of the Greens).

Notable ALP prime ministers have been William M. Hughes (1915-16), James H. Scullin (1929-32), John Curtin (1941-45), Ben Chifley (1945-49), Gough Whitlam (1972-74) and Robert ("Bob") Hawke (1983-91) and Paul Keating (1991-96). At the national elections on March 2, 1996, the ALP lost government; it attracted 39 percent of the vote for the house of representatives and 36 percent for the senate. Despite commanding the most votes of any single Australian political party, the ALP in the postwar period has always had the smallest membership of any of the three major Australian parties. In 1954 the ALP had about 75,000 members, but after the 1955 split, this fell to about 45,000; between 1982 and 1995 ALP membership fell from 55,000 to 35,000. The ALP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1966; this was the

first time it joined any international socialist organization.

In 1921 the ALP adopted a socialization objective (q.v.), but this has been progressively diluted since 1957. Compared to the British Labour Party (q.v.), the ALP has been a relatively moderate, even right-wing party. Public opinion polls show that support for the ALP among blue-collar/manual workers was at least double what was among white-collar/non-manual workers between 1943 and 1966. Since the 1972 election, support for the ALP has grown among white-collar workers and has been fairly stable among blue-collar workers. In 1993, 57 percent of blue-collar workers supported the ALP compared to 39 percent of white-collar workers. (*See also* Joseph Benedict Chifley, John Curtin, Andrew Fisher, Robert James Lee Hawke, William Morris Hughes, Paul John Keating, James Henry Scullin, John Watson, Edward Gough Whitlam; Tables 19, 20 and 24, Statistical Appendix)

AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS'/SOCIALIST PARTY (ASDP) The first attempt to organize a socialist party in what is now Austria dated from 1867 when a social democratic party was formed; it organized a mass demonstration in Vienna and presented a petition to the government in favor of the right to hold public assemblies and to form trade unions. In 1874 the All-Austrian Social Democratic Party was formed at Neudörfl. But the party did not succeed because of divisions caused by the anarchists (q.v.) and police repression. In 1888, following the pattern set by the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.), the ASDP (*Sozialdemokratische Partei Österreichs*) was organized and formally established at Hainfeld in 1889 by Victor Adler (q.v.); it claimed 15,550 members by 1890 and 90,000 by 1905 about 40 percent of whom lived in Vienna. There were close links with the trade union movement; indeed, the unions were not clearly differentiated from the ASDP until 1909. The ASDP campaigned hard for universal suffrage and organized disciplined mass marches through Vienna in 1905.

Before 1918, the ASDP was dominated by internal divisions between orthodox Marxists and reformists and by the ethnic divisions in the Austro-Hungarian empire, of which Austria was a central part. Although largely a German movement, the ASDP prided itself on its internationalism and its education. The ASDP

under Adler had tried to encompass ethnic diversity within its organization, but this proved impossible after 1911 when the Czechs formed their own social democratic party. Despite this setback, the ASDP trebled its membership from 110,000 in 1913 to 336,000 in 1920 and in the 1919 election gained 36 percent of the vote and 69 out of the 159 seats in parliament.

Although the Austrian section of the ASDP supported participation in World War I, it did so out of fear of the Russian empire, but from July 1915 onward began to support peace initiatives. This shift incurred a crackdown by the monarchical government and led to the assassination of the prime minister Count Stürgkh in October 1916 by Friedrich Adler (1879-1960), the son of Victor Adler. In November 1918 the monarchical government collapsed in chaos and Karl Renner emerged as chancellor. After the elections of February 1919 the ASDP was the largest single party and made an alliance with the Christian Socialists to form a government that succeeded in introducing a democratic constitution. This government continued until June 1920 when there was a fall in electoral support for the ASDP. Although the ASDP did not hold national government again until 1945, it achieved significant successes in municipal government, notably in Vienna, where it expanded public housing and improved educational, health, cultural, and recreational facilities.

After the creation of the Austrian republic in 1918, the ASDP faced other problems. There was increased antagonism between the ASDP and the Catholic Church, a conflict that was not resolved until after 1945. The economy of the new republic was damaged by the breakup of the unity that the former Austro-Hungarian empire had provided, and tensions between the rural and urban economy worsened. The ASDP continued to develop as an organization—for example, in 1925 it established a sports association—but the violence of the 1920s forced it to establish a paramilitary force for self-defense. In its program adopted at Linz in 1926 there was a reference to the possibility of a working-class dictatorship to forestall a conservative counterrevolution.

As in other European countries, the ASDP was unable to overcome the deep social divisions. Although ASDP membership had reached 718,100 by 1929, making it only second in size to the German Social Democratic Party in continental Europe, the makeup

of that membership was not representative of Austrian society. Of the total membership, 58 percent lived in Vienna; many of the Vienna members were Jews (q.v.) who were murdered by the Nazis between 1938 and 1945; 51 percent were industrial workers and 16 percent were housewives. Ominously, the ASDP had almost no members from the agricultural sector of the economy, which accounted for 32 percent of the Austrian labor force in 1934. The division between a countryside increasingly drawn to fascism and large cities drawn towards socialism proved fatal to the ASDP. After the coup by Dollfuss in 1934, the ASDP was dissolved. In 1938 Austria was "re-united" with Germany, a move ironically favored by the founder of the ASDP, Victor Adler in 1918. But unification hardly on the terms he wanted. As in Germany, the social democrats and trade union leaders were rounded up by the Nazis along with their Catholic and communist counterparts in working-class organizations and sent to concentration camps.

Like the trade unionists, the socialists revived quickly at the end of World War II. The ASDP was reestablished as the Austrian Socialist Party (ASP) (*Sozialistische Partei Österreichs*) in April 1945. The ASP formed an alliance with the Austrian People's Party, which lasted until 1966. During this time, it served as a partner in coalition governments. In 1958 the ASP revised its program to remove its references to marxism (q.v.). After the defeat of the ASP in the 1966 election, Bruno Kreisky was elected party chairman in 1967. He reformed the ASP and thereby made it possible for it to win outright at the 1971 national election, to govern in its own right from 1971 to 1983, and to become the dominant partner in coalition governments thereafter. The ASDP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1951. In 1978 the ASP softened its policy on nationalization (q.v.) as essential for economic planning; it has accepted the principles of privatization since September 1987. In January 1987 it renewed its electoral alliance with the Austrian People's Party and in 1991 reverted to its original title. Franz Vranitsky (1937-), the chairman of the ASP since 1988, has been chancellor of Austria since June 1986. In the 1994 election, the ASP attracted only 35.2 percent of the vote, its poorest result in the post-1945 period. (*See also* Victor Adler, Bruno Kreisky, Karl Renner; Table 15, Statistical Appendix)

B

BAATH A mainly moderate socialist political party, whose name means "renaissance" in Arabic, the *Baath* began as an international movement in Syria in 1940 to press not just for socialism, but also for the unity and freedom of the Arab world. The present party dates from 1953 when the Arab Renaissance Party, which had been formed in 1947, merged with the Syrian Socialist Party, which had been formed in 1950. It was the guiding force behind the union of Syria and Egypt between 1958 and 1961 and has been the ruling party in Syria since 1963 and the dominant political group in Iraq since 1968. In 1994 there were an estimated 250,000 members of the Baath in Syria. The Syrian Baath is more moderate than the Iraqi. The political ideology of the Baath stresses a pan-Arabic view (despite the political isolation of Iraq since the Gulf War in 1990-91), nationalization (q.v.), opposition to imperialism (q.v.), and the redistribution of agricultural land. The Baath has never been a member of the Socialist International (q.v.). (*See also* Arab Socialism)

BAKUNIN, MICHAEL ALEXANDROVICH (1814-1876) Born on the estate of Premukhino in the Russian province of Tver into a wealthy family, Bakunin was the effective founder of anarchism (q.v.) as a movement. After being discharged from the army, he became familiar with the socialist doctrines of Fourier, Saint-Simon, and Proudhon (qq.v.) but not a convert. He moved to Berlin in 1840 and then in 1841 to Dresden where he became a convert to revolutionary change. His subsequent life was one of participating in insurrection and secret societies. In 1849 he was jailed for his part uprisings in Paris, Prague, and Dresden; he was handed over to the Russians and eventually escaped from exile in Siberia in 1861. Bakunin came to represent the violent, destructive face of anarchism. He joined the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) in 1868, but was expelled for leading the opposition to Karl Marx (q.v.). He responded by establishing a rival body, the Saint-Imier International (q.v.). More than anyone else Bakunin saw the potential of Latin countries in Europe and the Americas as fertile ground for anarchism. He took part in anarchist insurrections in Lyon (1870) and Bologna (1874).

Bakunin was primarily a libertarian who wanted to destroy the state by revolution. He argued in his *God and State* that God and the church was part of the oppressive apparatus of the state; this work was translated into English in 1883. A man of action rather than a man of letters, he envisaged a future socialist society as one characterized by equality and workers' control over the means of production. Unlike Proudhon and his successor Kropotkin (q.v.), he maintained that the basis for the distribution of rewards in socialist society should be the labor that individuals contributed, not their needs. (*See also* Anarchism, Religion)

BARBADOS LABOUR PARTY (BLP) The BLP was founded in 1938 as the Barbados Progressive League and was based on the British Labour Party (q.v.). It main founder was Grantley Adams (1898-1971), who held office after independence from Britain between 1951 and 1961. The government headed by his son, "Tom" Adams (1931-1985), held power from 1976 to 1986. The BLP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1987 and had a membership of 10,000 in 1988.

BAUER, GUSTAV ADOLF (1870-1944) A German social democratic leader, Bauer was born in Darkehmen, East Prussia, and made his mark in the socialist movement in the labor unions (q.v.). In 1895 he organized the *Verband der Büroangestellten* (Association of Office Employees), which he led until 1908. In 1903 he was made leader of the secretariat for the Berlin labor unions and in 1908 was made vice-chairman of the *Generalkommission der Gewerkschaften*, the National Federation of Trade Unions, a post he held until 1918. He was elected to the *Reichstag* (parliament) in 1912 and was made secretary for labor in the last imperial government led by Prince Max of Baden in October 1918. He continued in this role under the Weimar Republic government of Philipp Scheidemann (q.v.) between February and June 1919. After Scheidemann resigned as chancellor on June 20, 1919, over his refusal to accept the terms of the Versailles Treaty, Bauer took his place and carried out the politically poisoned task of ratifying the treaty. He resigned as chancellor following the Kapp putsch in Berlin in March 1920. He later served as treasurer in the governments of Karl J. Wirth (1921-22) and of Hermann Müller.

(*See also* Friedrich Ebert, Hermann Müller, German Social Democratic Party, Philipp Scheidemann)

BEBEL, FERDINAND AUGUST (1840-1913) One of the principal leaders of German socialism, August Bebel was born near Cologne and became a master joiner and later a manufacturer. In August 1866 he and Wilhelm Liebknecht (q.v.) held a workers' congress at Chemnitz that resulted in the founding of the League of Workingmen's Associations of which Bebel was elected president in 1867. In 1869 the league was reconstituted as the Social Democratic Workers' Party (*Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei*) and became part of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). In 1872 he served a prison term for treason. For Bebel, socialism as defined by Marxism was to be achieved by peaceful evolution, a stand for which he was criticized by Marx and Engels. He played an important role in the fusion of the Social Democratic Workers' Party and the General Association of German Workers at Gotha in 1875. He helped found the Second International (q.v.) in 1889, and played a role in the adoption of the Erfurt Program by the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) in 1891. As editor of *Vorwärts* (Forward), he condemned militarism and imperialism (q.v.). He was also a forthright advocate of equal rights for women (q.v.) and argued their case in his books *Women and Socialism* (1883) and *Woman: In the Past, Present and Future* (1886). He was leader of the German Social Democratic Party for most of the time he spent as a member of the Reichstag, that is from 1871 to 1881 and from 1883 to 1913. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Women)

BELGIAN WORKERS'/SOCIALIST PARTY (BSP) Because of Belgium's early industrialization and proximity to France, socialism there developed early, but was dogged by linguistic and religious divisions, specifically between the Flemish in the north and the Walloons in the south. Baron Jean Hippolyte de Colins (1783-1859) advocated a form of utopian socialism (q.v.) in the 1850s, and the first Belgian unions were organized by spinners and weavers in the cotton industry in 1857. In the 1860s and early 1870s César de Paepe (1842-1890) represented the Belgian section of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). Between 1871 and 1873 there were strikes for the ten-hour working day, but they were

suppressed by the government; the depressed conditions of the period also crushed the emerging cooperative movement (q.v.). In 1875 and 1876 trade union federations were formed in Brussels, Ghent, and Antwerp. The Antwerp federation convened a conference to establish a workers' party, but this initiative floundered on ethnic and religious divisions. The upshot was that two socialist parties were formed: a Flemish party at Ghent and another at Brussels. In 1879 these two parties agreed to work together to agitate for universal suffrage (q.v.), but the Walloon regions refused to join. In 1880 Édouard Anseele (1856-1938) refounded the cooperative movement in Ghent, which became one of the pillars of Belgian socialism along with the trade unions and the friendly societies (q.v.), or *mutualités*. Because of the restrictive suffrage, the Belgian working class was effectively excluded from the formal political system before the 1890s. Hence suffrage reform was given top priority by working-class organizations.

The BSP was founded in April 1885 as the Workers' Party in Brussels by representatives from the trade unions, cooperatives, and friendly societies. In 1893 the BSP called a general strike that was supported by at least 200,000 employees. The strike succeeded in bringing about some suffrage reforms (the vote was given to men 25 and older, but plural voting was introduced) although it should be noted that the support of Catholic working-class organizations for suffrage reform was also an important reason for its success.

Because of the religious and ethnic divisions in Belgium, the BSP received its greatest support among the non-Catholic working class. Universal male suffrage (only fully obtained in 1919) was one of the main objectives of the BSP, which saw the vote as essential to achieving social reform. Otherwise, the BSP stressed the practical side of political activity rather than theoretical debates. Like the British Labour Party (q.v.), the BSP worked with the Liberal Party before 1914. At the 1895 election, the BSP attracted 13 percent of the vote; thereafter its share of the national vote increased steadily to 23 percent in 1900, 30 percent in 1914 and 37 percent in 1919. From 1910 their constructive participation in coalition governments in a junior role won the BSP further support. The BSP was a member of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.). By 1931 the BSP claimed a total membership of 601,000, but this included affiliates in cooperatives, trade unions, and friendly societies.

Despite its success, the BSP was not able to win over enough working-class Catholics to govern in its own right. It gained its first taste of political power between 1938 and 1939 when Paul-Henri Spaak (q.v.) was prime minister of a coalition government.

After World War II, the trade unions were given equal status with the BSP, which took its present title (*Parti Socialiste Belge*). The first postwar Belgian government was a coalition led by Achille Van Acker (1898-1975) was BSP prime minister from February 1945 to February 1946. In the late 1940s the BSP, labor unions, cooperatives and friendly societies set up a federation to coordinate their activities. They called a general strike in 1950 to block the return of Leopold III to the Belgian throne. Even so, the BSP has never been able to overcome the deep divisions in Belgian society and gain a broad base of support. For example, at the 1974 election, the BSP drew 47 percent of its support from Flanders, 44 percent from Wallonia but only 9 percent from Brussels; these regional divisions were also closely reflected in the distribution of the membership of the BSP. In 1978 the BSP split along linguistic/ethnic lines: the francophone *Parti Socialiste Belge* (Belgian Socialist Party) and the Flemish *Belgische Socialistische Partij* (Belgian Socialist Party). At the time of the division, the francophone party had 147,300 members and the Flemish party had 111,900 members. Both parties attracted similar proportions of the vote at national elections. In 1995 the francophone party gained 11.9 percent of the vote compared to 12.6 percent for the Flemish party. The BSP has been a participant in most coalition governments in Belgium since 1945. (*See also* Camile Huysmans, Paul-Henri Spaak, Émile Vandervelde)

BELLAMY, EDWARD (1850-1898) Born in Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, Bellamy qualified as a lawyer in 1871 and became an influential journalist who popularized utopian socialism. His best-known book, *Looking Backward: 2000-1887* (1888), attracted a large readership in North America, Britain and Australasia; he also wrote a sequel, *Equality* (1897). In *Looking Backward: 2000-1887*, Bellamy examined the industrial society of his day from the perspective of a technologically advanced and enlightened society over a century later in 2000. Primarily a writer of utopian fiction, he envisaged a society in which the state would organize large-scale

production and ensure economic equality. His ideal world also eliminated the need for human vices such as greed, lying, malice, and hypocrisy. Bellamy's ideas gave rise to a Nationalist club movement in the 1890s. (*See also* Henry George, Utopian Socialism)

BEN-GURION, DAVID (1886-1973) Israeli labor leader and politician, Ben-Gurion was born in Plonsk, Poland, then part of the Jewish pale of settlement on the western boundary of the Russian empire. He emigrated to Palestine in 1916 and became secretary-general of the Jewish Labor Federation in 1926; he held this position until 1933. In 1933 he became leader of the Mapai Party, the ancestor of the modern Israel Labor Party (q.v.), holding that position until 1963. He became the first prime minister of Israel in 1948, held the position until 1953 and again from 1955 to 1963. His administration was marked by his determination to ensure the survival of Israel against its hostile Arab neighbors and by the agricultural and industrial development embodied in the *kibbutz* (q.v.) movement. In 1963 he retired from politics but returned for a time in 1965 as the leader of a splinter group (the Rafi Party) from the Mapai Party, which wanted a more moderate foreign policy towards Israel's Arab neighbors. (*See also* Israel Labor Party)

BERGER, VICTOR LOUIS (1860-1929) Born in Austria-Hungary, Berger emigrated to the United States in 1878 and settled in Milwaukee, the home of many German-Americans who provided his political power base. He edited three socialist newspapers between 1892 and 1929. With Eugene V. Debs (q.v.), he helped to create the Social Democratic Party in 1897, which became the Socialist Party of America (SPA) (q.v.) in 1901. Berger was the first member of the SPA to be elected to the House of Representatives (1911-13), where he supported child labor laws, the eight-hour working day, old age pensions, and federal aid for farmers. In other respects he was a man of his time; he believed that African Americans were inferior to Caucasians and was wary of giving suffrage to women (q.v.) because he feared their conservatism. Because of his opposition to World War I, he was convicted under the *Espionage Act* of 1917 to twenty years in jail, but successfully appealed to a higher court. His conviction was overturned by the Supreme Court in 1921, and he

was readmitted to the House of Representatives where he served until his death. Berger remained in the SPA after 1920 and condemned Leninism (q.v.). (*See also* Eugene Victor Debs)

BERNE INTERNATIONAL The Berne International was the noncommunist socialist international that was formed at Berne, Switzerland, between February 3 and 9, 1919. It grew out of a failed attempt by some social democratic parties to hold a general international conference in Stockholm in 1917. The original members were the leaders of social democratic parties in Argentina, Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Palestine, Sweden, Switzerland, and the United Kingdom. The purpose of the conference was to resurrect the Second International (q.v.). The Russians were invited to attend, but refused because the Berne International did not support world revolution. The Berne International held conferences at Amsterdam (April 1919), Lucerne (August 1919), and Geneva (July-August 1920). Eduard Bernstein and Karl Johann Kautsky (qq.v.) assumed major roles in its deliberations. The conferences were stridently in support of democracy and liberty and condemned dictatorship, whether of the left or the right. At the Geneva conference, the Berne International declared its support for gradual nationalization of industry. At the same time, the parliamentary emphasis of the Berne International alienated other noncommunist socialist groups who formed the International Working Union of Socialist Parties, or Vienna International (and called the Two-and-a-Half International by Lenin), in February 1921. However, the Vienna International became disillusioned with the methods of the communists and their International, the Comintern. In May 1923 the Berne International and the International Working Union of Socialist Parties merged to form the Labor and Socialist International. (*See also* Comintern, International Working Union of Socialist Parties, Labor and Socialist International, Leninism)

BERNSTEIN, EDUARD (1850-1932) Bernstein was a prominent German socialist theorist and politician who argued that Marx's ideas, formulated in the mid-nineteenth century, should be revised to take account of the changed economic and social conditions of the

late nineteenth century. Born in Berlin, the son of a locomotive engine driver, his family was Jewish but not religious. After leaving school, he worked as a bank clerk. He joined the Social Democratic Workers' Party in 1872 and was present at the unity congress which endorsed the Gotha Program (q.v.) in 1875. As a result of Bismarck's Antisocialist Law (q.v.), he went into exile in Switzerland where he edited *Der Sozialdemokrat* (The Social Democrat), the party's newspaper, between 1881 and 1890. The German government issued a warrant for his arrest which was not withdrawn until 1901. In 1880 he met Marx in London whom he impressed by the soundness of his views; after Marx's death, Bernstein became one of Marx's literary heirs. In 1887 he was expelled from Switzerland at the request of the German government and moved to London where he lived until 1901 as the correspondent of *Vorwärts* (Forward). With Karl Kautsky, he was one of the main drafters of the party's Erfurt Program (q.v.) in 1891.

In Britain he was influenced by Fabianism and the Independent Labour Party (qq.v.). In 1896 he published a series of articles on socialist theory and practice in which he argued that socialism would be achieved from accumulated reforms and improvements. In 1899 he defended these articles in his controversial book *Die Voraussetzungen des Sozialismus und die Aufgaben der Sozialdemokratie* (The Preconditions of Socialism and the Tasks of Social Democracy). Using income and consumption statistics, Bernstein argued that the working class was not getting poorer and that the middle class was growing, trends that undermined Marx's idea of the primacy of the class struggle. He criticized Marx's theory of surplus value and his idea that there was increasing concentration in the ownership of capital. Bernstein was able to show that there were more shareholders than previously and that although large businesses were driving out smaller ones in some parts of the economy, this was not true for every part of the economy. He wanted the trade unions to be equal, not subordinate, partners in working toward socialism through collective bargaining. In his prediction that workers would fall victim to dictatorship after a proletarian revolution, Bernstein foreshadowed the Russian experience after the Bolshevik coup in 1917.

In 1902 he was elected to the Reichstag (parliament) as deputy for Breslau, a position he held until 1906 and again from 1912 to

1918. Revisionism was debated at the Dresden Conference of the SPD in 1903 and rejected once more. At the start of World War I, Bernstein refused to vote for war credits. In 1916 he joined the left-wing *Sozialdemokratische Arbeitsgemeinschaft* (Social Democratic Workers' Group) and in 1917 joined the *Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands* (Independent Social Democratic Party of Germany), but rejoined the majority SPD in 1918. After the collapse of electoral support for the SPD in the elections of 1920 (when the party's support fell to 22 percent), Bernstein took over from the moderate Georg von Vollar (1850-1922) as Reichstag deputy for the third electoral district of Berlin. He was appointed a member of a commission to review the SPD program. The Görlitz Conference in 1921 adopted the commission's recommendation for a program that reduced its Marxist content, but much of this was restored at the Heidelberg Conference in 1925. Bernstein retired from politics in 1928. In 1930 he published a study of the role of groups like the Levellers (q.v.) in the English Civil War. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Revisionism)

BEVERIDGE REPORT The Beveridge Report was the unofficial title of the *Report on Social Insurance and Allied Services*, which was prepared under the direction of Sir William Beveridge (q.v.) in December 1942. The Report, which set out a general social security scheme largely based on national insurance was the basis for the social security laws implemented by the Labour government under Clement Attlee between 1945 and 1950. The term *welfare state* was coined in the Beveridge Report. (*See also* Clement Attlee, William Henry Beveridge, Welfare State)

BEVERIDGE, WILLIAM HENRY (1879-1963) Beveridge was one of the principal architects of the British welfare state (q.v.). Born in Bengal, India, he was a brilliant student who graduated from Balliol College, Oxford, in (among other subjects) mathematics. Deeply concerned with social problems, he became acquainted with Sidney Webb (q.v.) but rejected socialism. He became the first director of the London School of Economics in 1919, a position he held until 1937. He chaired an interdepartmental committee of inquiry into social insurance and allied services, which reported to the government in December 1942. In it, Beveridge advocated the

introduction of a comprehensive social security scheme that aroused intense interest. In 1944 Beveridge published *Full Employment in a Free Society*, which presented his arguments in favor of his Beveridge Report (q.v.), which were supported by the economics of J. M. Keynes. Although the predominately conservative government of Winston Churchill made some moves toward the implementation of the Beveridge Report before the end of World War II, it not until the election of the British Labour Party (q.v.) in 1945 that a concerted effort was made to implement its recommendations. (*See also* Beveridge Report, Welfare State)

BEVIN, ERNEST (1881-1951) British trade union leader and politician, Bevin was born into a poor rural environment in Somerset. His parents were unmarried and he never knew his father. He held a number of lowly jobs until finding work as a van driver in 1901. His formal education was very limited. Like other labor leaders of his generation, he was a Methodist. He gained some further education from the Quaker Adult School and joined the Socialist Labour Party in Bristol in 1905, becoming a speaker and an organizer. He left the Baptist Church and became a socialist because he felt the church was unconcerned with social issues. In 1908 he became active in the Right to Work movement for the unemployed. During the strike by dockers (longshoremen) at Avonmouth, he organized the dock carters as part of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside, and General Workers' Union so they could not be used as strike-breakers. In 1911 Bevin became a full-time official of the Dockers' Union. An outstanding negotiator, Bevin became one of the union's three national organizers in 1913. In 1915-16 he was the fraternal delegate of the Trades Union Congress to the American Federation of Labor, a trip that gave him an international outlook and stimulated him into supporting the integration of Europe. In 1920 his brilliant advocacy for the dockworkers before the Industrial Court won him national recognition, as did his leadership of the Council of Action's campaign to boycott the supply of military equipment to Poland for use against the Russian revolutionaries. In 1921 Bevin was the pivotal figure in the amalgamation of 14 unions to create a new mass union, the Transport and General Workers' Union, which by the late 1930s had grown to be the largest union in Britain and, for a brief time, the largest in the world.

In 1925 Bevin became a member of the general council of the Trades Union Congress, a position he held until 1940. During the 1930s Bevin successfully fought communist influence and pacifism (q.v.) within the labor movement. In 1940 he was made minister for labor, a position responsible for organizing Britain's labor force during World War II. Bevin's last official position was foreign secretary from 1945 to just before his death in 1951. He fulfilled this office with distinction. He has been called a patriot in the style of Robert Blatchford (q.v.) identifying the British national interest with that of its working class (q.v.). As foreign secretary, Bevin wanted a Europe united against communism and played a major role in the implementation of the Marshall Plan, the creation of the Western Union (March 1948), and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (April 1949). As a result of his tour of the British Empire in 1937-38, he wanted to built an effective multiracial organization bound together by the Columbo Plan (1950). Bevin's main failure in foreign policy was his inability to negotiate a mutually acceptable solution to Jews (q.v.) and Arabs in Palestine in the late 1940s. (*See also* British Labour Party)

BLAIR, ANTHONY CHARLES LYNTON (1953-) British Labour prime minister since May 2, 1997, Tony Blair was born in Edinburgh into a middle-class Anglican family. His father was a university lecturer in law and an aspiring Conservative politician. After a private school education, he spent a year in London working a succession of menial jobs. He went on to study law at St. John's College, at Oxford University, and practiced as a barrister specializing in labor law from 1976. After marrying Cherie Booth in 1980, he lived in Hackney, a working-class area of London's East End. From this time onwards, he became active in the Labour Party and in April 1983 he was elected to the House of Commons as the member for Sedgefield, a coal-mining center in the north-east of England. He was shadow treasury spokesman between 1984 and 1987; in this position he opposed Labour's support for the closed-shop for trade unions. Despite his lack of a traditional Labour background in either the working class or the labor unions (q.v.), Blair's Christian beliefs place him in the tradition of Christian socialism (q.v.) which was shared by earlier Labour leaders such as Hugh Gaitskell (1907-1963) who led the Labour Party between 1955

and 1963 and Clement Attlee (q.v.). In a television interview in 1995, Blair said he had been attracted to the Labour Party because he shared its values and because of his belief that a strong, decent, and cohesive society was necessary for the betterment of the individual.

He visited Australia in 1982, 1990 and 1995 and consulted with Australian Labor Party leaders Bob Hawke and Paul Keating (qq.v.) when they were in government. A protégé of Neil Kinnoch (1942-), who led the party from 1983 to 1992, Blair became leader of the Labour Party in July 1994 after the untimely death of Kinnoch's successor, John Smith (1938-1994), from a heart attack on May 12. As leader, Blair successfully modernized the image of the Labour Party and enhanced its standing with the electorate, summed up in his term "New Labour." He succeeded in abandoning the socialization objective (q.v.) in clause IV of the party's constitution, (an objective unsuccessfully sought by other Labour leaders since 1959) and in adopting a pro-European foreign policy. He has indicated support for reform of the House of Lords, especially the removal of hereditary peers. On May 1, 1997 he led "New Labour" to a massive victory in the national elections. He identified education (q.v.), health, unemployment, and crime as priorities for his government. (*See also* British Labour Party)

BLANC, JEAN-JOSEPH-CHARLES-LOUIS (1811-1882) Author and politician, Louis Blanc was one of the most significant figures in the development of socialism. Born in Madrid, where his father had been sent by Napoleon, he founded the *Revue du progrès* in 1839, a journal of advanced social thought. In this journal he serially published his important work, *Organisation du travail* (Organization of Labor) in 1840 in which he argued for setting up a system of government subsidized cooperative workshops to provide employment with a guaranteed minimum wage. The finance for these workshops was to come from nationalized railways, mines, banks, and insurance enterprises as well as from general revenue. It was Blanc, not Marx, who encapsulated the socialist goal as "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs." In 1848 he became a member of the provisional government and was able to use his position to demand that the government provide employment to all who needed it. Because there was much popular

support for Blanc's idea of workshops for the unemployed, the government set up a travesty of what he advocated with the object of discrediting him. Falsely accused of being part of a revolutionary movement, he was forced to leave France and move to England, where he worked as correspondent until 1871. Blanc assumed that the social classes could cooperate and opposed the Paris Commune (q.v.). On his return to France, he was elected to the national assembly and to the chamber of deputies in 1876. The idea of national cooperative workshops was taken up by Ferdinand Lassalle (q.v.). Blanc's ideas were of lasting importance in wanting to use the state as an instrument to achieve socialism though democratic, parliamentary processes, thus foreshadowing later socialist doctrines such as Fabianism and revisionism, and workers' management or Guild Socialism. (*See also* Fabianism, Guild Socialism, Revisionism)

BLATCHFORD, ROBERT PEEL GLANVILLE (1851-1943) Journalist and popularizer of socialist ideas, Robert Blatchford was born in Maidstone, England. His father, an itinerant comedian, died when he was two years old. Apprenticed as a brush maker at the age of 14 he ran away when he was 20 and joined the army, where he stayed until 1878. He enjoyed his time in the army and became convinced of the innate goodness of ordinary people. He first began writing for the press in 1883. He moved to Manchester, where the experience of the slums as well as reading works by Henry George and William Morris (qq.v.) turned him into a socialist, a choice that cost him his well-paid (1,000 pounds a year) job with the *Sunday Chronicle*. In 1891 he and Edward Francis Fay (d.1896) founded a socialist newspaper, *The Clarion*, which he edited until 1935. In 1893 he published *Merrie England*, a book that was originally a collection of articles in *The Clarion*; in 1894 *Merrie England* was reissued as a penny edition and it sold over 2 million copies in Britain, the United States, and in various translations. It was the best-selling work on socialism of its time. Unlike other writers on socialism such as George Bernard Shaw (q.v.), Blatchford had a gift for communicating with less educated readers. Like William Morris, Blatchford disliked factories and the industrial towns and loved the countryside and its towns. Although he went on to write other works, notably a novel in the tradition of utopian socialism (q.v.) called *The*

Sorcery Shop (1907), his support for both the Boer War and World War I lost him most of his socialist supporters. After the death of his wife in 1921 he became a spiritualist. (*See also* Henry George, William Morris)

BLUM, LÉON (1872-1950) Born in Paris into a prosperous Alsatian Jewish family and raised in a traditional Jewish environment, Blum qualified as a lawyer in 1894 and joined the *Groupe d'Unité Socialiste* in 1899 and the *Parti Socialiste Français* in 1902. He participated in the campaign to exonerate Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish army officer falsely accused of selling secrets to the Germans. He worked with Jean Jaurès (q.v.) and helped found the socialist newspaper *L'Humanité* in 1904. After the murder of Jaurès in 1914 he felt compelled to enter politics. In 1919 he was elected to the chamber of deputies and became a leading member of the French Socialist Party. After the communists took control of the party in 1921, he left and formed his own moderate party. He became premier of a Popular Front (q.v.) government in June 1936 and nationalized the Bank of France and the armaments industry. He resigned in June 1937 after being denied special powers by the upper house to deal with the economic crisis. He again served as premier from March to April 1938. In 1942 Blum was put on trial by the Vichy government, but his courageous defense led to the suspension of proceedings. He was handed over to the Nazis and sent to Buchenwald concentration camp, where he was liberated by American troops. He was then premier from December 1946 to January 1947. Blum was a Zionist sympathizer from 1918, and strongly supported the creation of Israel in 1948. (*See also* Jews, French Socialist Party)

BOURGEOISIE (*See* Middle Class)

BRANDT, WILLY (1913-1992) Born Karl Herbert Frahm in Lübeck, Brandt joined the German Social Democratic Party (GSDP) and after the Nazis came to power in 1933 was forced to flee to Norway, where he worked as journalist. He returned to Germany briefly in 1936 to establish an anti-Nazi underground and was a journalist during the Spanish Civil War (q.v.). He joined the Norwegian army in 1940, was captured, released, and went to Sweden. He returned to

Germany in 1945 was elected to the *Bundestag* in 1949. He became chairman of the GSDP in Berlin in 1958 and became leader of the party in 1964, a position he held until 1987. He was one of the prime architects of the Godesberg Program (q.v.). He served as chancellor from October 1969 to May 1974, but was forced to stand down after a close aide was arrested as a communist spy from East Germany. In 1976 he became president of the Socialist International (q.v.) and used his office to expand its membership into the Third World. His last major public achievement was chairing an international commission that produced the Brandt Report (1979). The report argued that the economic and social problems of nations located mainly in the southern hemisphere threatened world peace and needed more assistance from the industrialized nations located mainly in the northern hemisphere. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party)

BRAUNTHAL, JULIUS (1891-1972) Jewish socialist scholar, publications editor, and administrator, Braunthal was born in Vienna and worked as a bookbinder between 1905 and 1912. He fought with distinction in the Austro-Hungarian army, rose to the rank of lieutenant, and received a silver medal for bravery. Between 1918 and 1920 he served as assistant to the secretary of state for the newly formed Austrian republic. Between 1920 and 1934 he edited various Austrian socialist newspapers. As a result of the Nazi takeover of Austria in 1938, he went into exile and spent the last part of his life in Britain. He was assistant secretary of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) between 1938 and 1939, edited *International Socialist Forum* from 1941 to 1948, and was secretary of the Committee of the International Socialist Conference (1949-51) and its successor, the Socialist International from 1951 to 1956. He was a Zionist and today is best remembered for his three-volume *History of the International*, which was originally published in German between 1961 and 1971. (*See also* Committee of the International Socialist Conference, Socialist International)

BRITISH LABOUR PARTY Formed February 27, 1900, as the Labour Representation Committee, and renamed the Labour Party in 1906, the party has been one of the leading continuous political parties in the world to be based on organized labor. Labor officials

first began contesting British parliamentary elections in 1847, but were unsuccessful until 1874, when Alexander Macdonald (1821-1881) and Thomas Burt (1837-1922), two coal miners' leaders, were elected to the House of Commons. In 1867 suffrage (q.v.) was widened to include relatively well-off urban working-class men. It was broadened again in 1884, but a full adult suffrage was not introduced until 1918. Because of its ability to work with the Liberal Party for labor objectives, the Trades Union Congress (TUC), the peak national labor organization, was slow to see the need for organized labor to support its own political party, despite initiatives such as the Labour Representation League (q.v.) and the Labour Electoral Committee (1886).

James Keir Hardie (q.v.) founded the Scottish Parliamentary Party in 1888 and the Independent Labour Party in 1893, but these were not arms of the labor unions. In 1892 Hardie succeeded in having a resolution for separate labor representation carried at the TUC, but no action followed. It was the Taff Vale Case—a legal judgment by the House of Lords in 1901 which made trade unions liable to prosecution for large damages caused by picketing—that galvanized organized labor into supporting a separate labor party; in 1906 the Labour Representation Committee was renamed the Labour Party. The committee was just that—a committee to promote labor representation—and was originally proposed by Thomas R. Steels, a member of the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants and the Independent Labour Party (q.v.). Its founding members were the Independent Labour Party, the Social Democratic Federation (q.v.), and various labor unions.

The committee was reorganized in 1903 and increased its subscription rate to pay salaries to its parliamentary representatives, who were henceforth not to identify themselves with any other political party. In August 1903 Ramsay MacDonald (q.v.) made a secret deal between the committee and the Liberal Party, which ended electoral competition between them in constituencies in England; the deal remained in force until 1918, when electoral reforms abolished two-member constituencies. In 1909 the Labour Party was greatly strengthened when the Miners' Federation decided to affiliate; previously, the federation had tended to support the Liberal Party.

Before 1914 the Labour Party was administratively and electorally weak. It therefore preferred to keep the Liberal Party in power as the lesser of the two evils, the alternative being the Conservative Party. World War I and the stresses it caused to the social and economic fabric of Britain weakened the Liberal Party and worked to the benefit of the Labour Party. In December 1916 Lloyd George formed a government and offered some junior ministries to the Labour Party. Growing differences between Lloyd George and Arthur Henderson, the secretary of the Labour Party from 1912 to 1934 and a former Liberal supporter, from late 1917 led Henderson to begin far-ranging reforms of the party to convert it into the major opposition party and supplant the Liberal Party. Under Henderson's leadership, the Labour Party adopted an independent foreign policy and turned to Sidney Webb (q.v.) for assistance in preparing policies. In 1918 the party adopted a socialization objective (q.v.) as part of its constitution. In June 1918 Sidney Webb prepared *Labour and the Social Order* which was the basis of Labour Party policy until 1950; it advocated a minimum wage, the democratic control of industry, heavy taxation (q.v.) to pay for social services, and expansion of educational and cultural facilities. The Labour Party was reorganized to create its own local organizations based on individual members. Previously membership had been open only to trade unions. Between 1928 (when the first figures became available) and 1938, the individual membership of the party doubled from 215,00 to 429,000.

In 1922 the Labour Party won 142 seats in the House of Commons (out of the 414 it actually contested) and became the official opposition party for the first time. After the 1923 elections it increased its representation to 191, compared to only 158 for the reunited Liberal Party, thereby enabling the Labour Party to form a minority government under Ramsay MacDonald with Liberal support. During its brief time in office in 1924, the government's main achievement was a housing law that provided for government assistance to local government councils to build houses for the less well-off. Otherwise it achieved little; in particular lacking the economic expertise to relieve unemployment.

At the 1929 election, the Labour Party won 288 seats, making it the largest political party but still short of a clear majority. Hence it formed another minority government. As the Depression set in, the

government was unable to agree over unemployment policy. American bankers were only prepared to grant loans if widespread retrenchments were made. In August 1931 MacDonald formed a new government with Liberal and Conservative support, a decision that led to widespread and intense bitterness among Labour supporters and aggravated by Labour's crushing defeat in the elections of October 1931, which saw only 52 Labour members returned.

In 1935 Clement Attlee replaced George Lansbury (qq.v.) as leader of the parliamentary Labour Party, thereby becoming the first leader to come from outside the working class. In the elections of that year the Labour Party won 166 seats and began its slow recovery as a major party. Academic supporters, such as G. D. H. Cole and the XYZ Group (qq.v.), played an important role in feeding it ideas and producing detailed reformist programs. The Labour Party also abandoned its tendency towards pacifism (q.v.) that had been evident under Lansbury's leadership; from 1937 it supported rearmament.

Before 1918 the party's general level of interest in international matters was low, and it was not until 1908 that it joined the secretariat of the Second International (q.v.). The party was an affiliate of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) throughout its history and during World War II nurtured the bodies in exile that eventually gave rise to the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1951.

In May 1940 Churchill formed a war cabinet to fight World War II; it included Attlee as Lord Privy Seal and Ernest Bevin (q.v.) as minister for labor and national service. The close working relationship between these two men from very different social backgrounds was the basis for the first majority Labour Party government after the war. In 1945 Labour won government for the first time with 396 seats in the House of Commons. Of those elected 41 percent had working-class origins compared to 72 percent of Labour parliamentarians between 1918 and 1935.

The Attlee government implemented wide-ranging reforms. It embarked on an extensive campaign of nationalization that included: the Bank of England, the coal industry, electricity, gas, and transport. It also introduced a national health service. It acted quickly to give independence to British India (1947) thereby creating the modern Asian nations of India, Pakistan, Burma and

Ceylon (now Sri Lanka). The government's freedom of action was curtailed by a financial crisis in the late 1940s. It was returned in the 1950 election, but with a much reduced majority (315 seats), and lost power in 1951. Its main achievement was the nationalization of the iron and steel industry.

Thereafter the Labour Party entered a long period of electoral decline and internal dissension. Bevin died in 1951 and was replaced by the left-wing Frank Cousins as secretary of the powerful Transport and General Workers' Union in 1955. This deprived Attlee, who remained party leader until 1955, of his most powerful ally. At the same time, the left-wing of the party grew in strength and found an unofficial factional leader in Aneurin Bean (1897-1960). The left, which professed to be more socialist than the rest of the party, objected to the rearmament of Germany (1954), the decision to produce a hydrogen bomb (1955), and any attempt to remove the socialization objective (q.v.) from the party's constitution (1959). It succeeded in having the party adopt a policy of unilateral disarmament (1960). Hugh Gaitskell (1906-1963), who was party leader from 1955 until his death, led a party in which the views of the parliamentary leadership were often ignored by the trade union voting blocs that dominated the Labour Party. Gaitkell was replaced by Harold Wilson (q.v.), who was then identified with the party's left wing but moved to the right thereafter. Wilson's speech to the 1963 party conference emphasized science, technology and higher education rather than traditional socialist goals such as nationalization and government regulation of the economy. Although Labour did not win national government again until 1964, it continued to be an important force in local government and has responsibility for many functions in Britain.

Thereafter the Labour Party's electoral record in national British politics was mixed: Labour lost power in 1970, regained it in 1974, and lost it again in 1979 as it struggled to deal with the country's economic difficulties, notably its adverse balance of payments, high inflation and low productivity. After its defeat in the 1979 elections, the Labour Party suffered six years of severe internal conflict between parliamentarians and left-wing activists who rallied behind Tony Benn and the Campaign for Labour Party Democracy (q.v.). The shift to the left of the political spectrum alienated some senior Labour parliamentary members—notably David Owen, William

Rodgers and Shirley Williams—who eventually set up their own political party, the Social Democratic Party in 1981.

At the 1980 party conference, the parliamentary Labour members were blamed for the electoral defeat of 1979. James Callaghan (q.v.) resigned as leader and was replaced by Michael Foot (1913-), a long-time left-winger, in November 1980. Under Foot, Labour supported massive government spending, Britain's withdrawal from the European Economic Community, and unilateral disarmament. In April 1981 Tony Benn challenged Denis Healey (1917-) for the deputy leadership, a move which resulted in six months of struggle which added to Labour's disunity. Benn lost by less than one percent of the vote, largely because Neil Kinnoch (1942-) and his supporters abstained from voting.

The adoption of an extreme left-wing platform in the 1983 elections brought about Labour's worst election result (27.6 percent of the vote) since it became the main party of opposition in 1922. Foot resigned as leader and was replaced by Kinnoch, then another left-winger. By this time, Labour's support according to opinion polls had dropped to 24 percent. Kinnoch began the massive task of reforming the organization and policies of the party. The leaders of Militant Tendency (q.v.) were finally expelled in 1985 and 1986. In 1986 the traditional party symbol, the red flag, was replaced by a red rose with a long stem. After its defeat in the June 1987 elections, the party's policies were drastically revised to bring them into line with community aspirations. Despite these reforms, the party was again defeated at the national polls in 1992. Kinnoch stepped down as leader and was replaced by John Smith (1938-1994), but Smith died of a heart attack and was able to do little beyond reducing the power of the trade unions in electing the party leader.

The lack of electoral support for Labour between 1979 and 1992 was a reflection of profound economic and social changes not just in Britain, but in other Western economies as well. The decline of manufacturing, the growth of part-time employment, and the increased entry of women into the labor force undercut Labour's traditional power base, the trade unions. Between 1979 and 1992 the number of trade union members of the Labour Party fell from its peak of 6.5 million to 4.6 million, its lowest level since 1948. By 1995 the proportion of all British employees who were union members was 32 percent, compared to 51 percent in 1979.

Public opinion polls conducted since 1945 indicate that electoral support for the British Labour Party among blue-collar workers was more than double what it was among white-collar workers. Between 1945 and 1974 support for the Labour Party varied between 57 and 62 percent among blue-collar workers compared to between 21 and 28 percent among white-collar workers. Between 1974 and 1992 support for the Labour Party fell among both groups but the fall was greater among blue-collar workers. In 1992 47 percent of private sector blue-collar workers supported the Labour Party compared to only 19 percent of private sector white-collar workers.

After Smith's death on May 12, 1994, Tony Blair (q.v.) became party leader. Under him, the Labour Party was moved further into the center of the political spectrum. One especially notable feature of his leadership was his successful reduction in the power of the trade unions over the Labour Party; for example in April 1996, the practice of trade union sponsorship of individual Labour parliamentarians was abolished. In 1995 Blair relaunched the Labour Party as "New Labour" and dropped its socialization objective (q.v.). Drawing on the example of the consensus politics of the Australian Labor Party in government in the 1980s and the presidential campaigns of Bill Clinton in 1992 and 1996, Blair led "New Labour" to a landslide election victory on May 1, 1997. Among the policies announced in the wake of this victory were: support for Britain signing the European Social Chapter to bring it into line with European employment standards, a minimum wage, and increased expenditure on health and education (q.v.). (*See also* Clement Attlee, Beveridge Report, Ernest Bevin, Anthony Charles Lynton Blair, British Socialist Party, Campaign for Labour Party Democracy, George Howard Douglas Cole, Charles Anthony Raven Crosland, Co-operative Party, James Keir Hardie, Labour Representation League, James Ramsay MacDonald, Militant Tendency, Socialization Objective, Richard Henry Tawney; Tables 5, 25, Statistical Appendix)

BRITISH SOCIALIST PARTY (BSP) The BSP was a small radical party that operated between 1911 and 1920. It was formed in opposition to the British Labour Party from former members of the Social Democratic Federation. H. M. Hyndman was its chairman, but it also included followers of Robert Blatchford as well as

dissidents from the Independent Labour Party (qq.v.). The BSP claimed 15,000 members by 1912, but it was unable to sustain itself and in 1914 applied for affiliation with the British Labour Party which at first refused, but accepted the BSP in 1916. The BSP was weakened by syndicalism (q.v.), which repudiated political activity altogether. In 1920 the BSP joined with other left-wing groups to form the British Communist Party, thereby breaking its links with the Labour Party. (*See also* British Labour Party, Tom Mann, Social Democratic Federation)

BULGARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (BSDP) The BSDP (in Bulgarian, the *Bulgarska Sotsial-demokraticheska Partiya*) was founded in August 1892 as the Bulgarian Social Democratic Labor Party; by 1900 it had 1,761 members. It split in 1903 between the Broad and the Narrow Socialists. The Broad Socialists were comparable to the supporters of Revisionism (q.v.) in other parts of Western Europe. They favored a party with a wide social base and cooperation with bourgeois parties to advance economic and political democracy. The Narrow Socialists preferred to concentrate on the class struggle as the primary objective and to prepare the working class for the future socialist revolution. They later became the Bulgarian Communist Party.

With the imposition of communist rule the BSDP was suppressed in 1948, but not formally outlawed. It was revived in March 1991 after the coup of November 1989, which removed the Zhivhov regime. The BSDP claimed 50,000 members and was admitted as a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.). As part of the Union of Democratic Forces, the BSDP attracted 34.4 percent of the vote in the elections of October 1991. (*See also* Table 14, Statistical Appendix)

BUND (*See* International Jewish Labor Bund)

C

CALLAGHAN, (LEONARD) JAMES (1912-) A leader of the British Labour Party (q.v.) and prime minister, Callaghan was born in Portsmouth, England, and was raised by his widowed mother, a strict Baptist in a poor household. He joined the Inland Revenue

Service and became secretary of the Inland Revenue Staff Federation. He served in the Royal Navy during World War II. He was elected to the House of Commons as member for Cardiff South in 1945 and remained a member of the Commons until 1987. When first elected, he was identified with the left of the party, but had moderated his views by the end of the 1940s. He rose through the ranks of the parliamentary party and made an unsuccessful, but credible, attempt at standing for leader of the party in 1963. He was chancellor of the exchequer between 1964 and 1967, home secretary from 1967 to 1970, foreign secretary from 1974 to 1976, and prime minister (of a minority government) and leader of the Labour Party from 1976 to 1980. He was created Baron Callaghan of Cardiff in 1987. His record in power was adversely affected by the economic difficulties of the British economy from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s. (*See also* British Labour Party)

CAMPAIGN FOR LABOUR PARTY DEMOCRACY (CLPD) The CLPD was a group formed in the British Labour Party in 1973 to press for members to be given a greater say in decision making within the party. At the 1980 annual conference of the party, the CLPD succeeded in having two of its policies adopted: the compulsory reselection of members of parliament by the party and a broader suffrage for the election of the leader of the party. (*See also* British Labour Party)

CAPITALISM A general term for an economic and social system characterized by the domination of private ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The first general description of the dynamics of modern capitalism was made by Adam Smith in *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* in 1776. The features Smith described were given far greater force by the Industrial Revolution (q.v.), particularly from the 1830s. Although the benefits of capitalism were evident from its augmentation of national wealth and income, it faced increasing criticism after 1820 from critics for causing a skewed distribution of income, depressions in the trade cycle, mass unemployment, and, more generally, for moral and ethical reasons. Socialist critics were united in their objections to capitalism as an economic system that promoted competition rather than cooperation. All were influenced

by the widespread misery caused by economic depressions in the 1830s and 1840s, which led to movements such as Chartism (q.v.).

That said, socialists were far less united about what to put in its place. Utopian socialism (q.v.) sought solutions in the building of separate communities. Radical socialists led by Karl Marx (q.v.) in the 1860s and 1870s rejected such options and saw the solution in violent revolution by the oppressed workers (proletariat). By the end of the nineteenth century it was evident to acute observers such as Eduard Bernstein (q.v.) that the ability of capitalism to adapt had been underestimated by Marx and that the working classes were becoming better off, not worse off. The Depression of the early 1930s led to a major reappraisal by the economist John Maynard Keynes in his *General Theory of Employment, Interest, and Money* in 1936. The Depression provoked widespread disenchantment with capitalism as a system and boosted support for communism in Western democracies. From the end of World War II to about 1980, socialist governments in Western countries have accepted the capitalist system, but have sought to ameliorate its drawbacks by intervention, the promotion of full employment, and enhanced social security programs. Since 1980 socialist/social democratic governments have also been more inclined to accept privatization as the way to improve economic efficiency and reduce government outlays, as well as to resort to selling off public assets to raise revenue. (*See also* Industrial Revolution)

CHARTISM Named after the People's Charter, the statement of its demands, Chartism was a radical political movement in England in the 1830s and 1840s. The objectives of the movement were the suffrage (q.v.) for all adult males, annual parliaments, vote by secret ballot, public payment of members of parliament, population equality of electoral districts, and the abolition of property qualifications for members of parliament. Although most of these aims were achieved in England by 1914, the most radical demand, for annual parliaments, was not; had it been agreed to, it would have drastically altered the British constitution. Chartism drew its strength from the depressed economic conditions of the time and the unemployment in many industrialized areas. The People's Charter was presented to parliament as a petition in 1839, 1842, and 1848 and was rejected each time. England's rulers saw Chartism as a

revolutionary movement and treated it with hostility. The movement was marked by violence (24 were killed at Newport) and internal divisions. With the gradual economic recovery in the late 1840s, Chartism died, but its ideas entered the agenda of working-class politics in other English-speaking countries through emigration. It has been suggested that the benign attitude of British governments after 1850 toward the emergence of labor unions (q.v.) compared to Chartism was to encourage working-class activism to take an orderly, moderate form. (*See also* Labor Unions)

CHIFLEY, JOSEPH BENEDICT (1885-1951) Australian Labor Party (ALP) prime minister from 1945 to 1949, Ben Chifley was born in Bathurst, New South Wales. He became a locomotive railroad driver in 1914 and was elected to the national parliament in 1928. From March to December he was minister for defense in the Scullin (q.v.) government. He lost his seat in the landslide to the conservatives in the elections of December 1931 and did not regain it until 1940. He served as treasurer in the wartime administration of John Curtin (q.v.) and took over as prime minister on Curtin's death in 1945. His administration improved social services, established a domestic government-run airline (1946), bought the international airline Qantas for the government, initiated the first large-scale immigration scheme for non-British European immigrants (1947), and began the Snowy Mountains Hydro-Electric Scheme. He lost office in the 1949 election because he was blamed for the effects of the communist-led 1949 coal strike which occurred during the winter. His government's plan to nationalize the banks and his continued wartime rationing of petrol also contributed to his defeat. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, John Curtin, James Henry Scullin)

CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM From about the 1830s concern about social justice and harmony in the United Kingdom, continental Europe, and the United States gave rise to middle-class Christian groups that wanted to apply their faith to help solve social problems. They supported labor unions, cooperatives, adult suffrage, education (qq.v.), and progressive social reform generally. For example, the principles of the American Society of Christian Socialists adopted in Boston in April 1889, declared that God was "the source and guide of all human progress," criticized the economic system for its

individualistic basis and demanded a "reconstituted social order, which, adopting some method of production and distribution that starts from organized society as a body, and seeks to benefit society equitably in every one of its members, shall be based on the Christian principle that 'We are members one of another.'" Although Christian socialism failed to attract a mass following, it continued to form a strand of socialist thought throughout the twentieth century. (*See also* Anthony Charles Lynton Blair, Richard Theodore Ely, International League of Religious Socialists)

CHRISTIANITY Although Christianity and socialism are often presented as antagonistic historical traditions, this is an oversimplification of what has been a long and complicated relationship. Christianity contributed much of the ethical basis of what became socialism. Christianity was the source of notions of egalitarianism (q.v.) and millenarianism. Egalitarianism, meaning the equality of human beings in the state of nature, was an idea with traceable roots to classical Greece and Rome. Christianity stressed the equality of souls after death, but not during life. The myth of the golden age was revived by millenarian groups from the eleventh to the sixteenth centuries. Common themes among these groups were the need for communities of the faithful and the idea that the second coming of Christ would provide salvation and relief from political oppression. Despite the often violent suppression of these groups by the governments of the day, their ideas lived on in the poorer sections of European society.

During the last half of the nineteenth century socialism as a movement benefited from the decline in support for Christianity. Many found in socialism something like an alternative religion. This was especially evident in Germany, where the Catholic Church provided an unwitting model for the social organization of the Germany Social Democratic Party (q.v.) and its efforts to build an alternative society. Others remained Christians but attempted to fuse socialism and Christianity in the form of Christian socialism (q.v.). In Britain, many of the socialists of the late nineteenth century came from nonconformist religions. Most of the conflict between socialism and Christianity has been more between socialism and Catholicism, particularly in France, Italy, and Spain where the Catholic Church was closely associated with the established order.

An International League of Religious Socialists (q.v.) was formed in 1922 in Switzerland to improve dialogue between socialists and Catholics. (*See also* Christian Socialism, International League of Religious Socialists, Claude-Henri Saint-Simon, Leninism, Religion)

COLE, GEORGE DOUGLAS HOWARD (1889-1959) Scholar, socialist author, theorist and historian, G. D. H. Cole was born in Cambridge, England. He was educated at Balliol College, Oxford, and was a socialist by 1906. In 1908 he joined the Fabian Society in Oxford and worked with both the Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation (qq.v.) in Newcastle upon Tyne in 1913-14. He became critical of the social reformist strand of the British Labour Party (q.v.) and the bureaucratic tendencies in the views of Sidney and Beatrice Webb (qq.v.). He left the Fabian Society in 1915 and did not rejoin until 1928. He identified with the trade unions and believed in organizing change "from below." In 1913 he published *The World of Labour*, a pioneering study of the growth of world trade unionism. For the next five years he was the driving force of guild socialism (q.v.). In 1917 he published *Self-Government in Industry* (1917). In 1925 he became a Reader in economics and a Fellow of University College, Oxford. Cole believed too much in democratic processes to be attracted to communism. He played an important role in providing ideas for the British Labour Party through the Fabian Society and by encouraging debate among pro-Labour intellectuals. In 1940 Cole assisted Sir William Beveridge (q.v.) with an inquiry into labor and war production. Cole was a prodigious writer. Among his many works of enduring value are *British Working Class Movements: Select Documents, 1789-1875* (with A. W. Filson, 1951) and his multivolume *History of Socialist Thought* (1954-60). (*See also* Guild Socialism)

COLONIALISM (*See* Imperialism)

COMINFORM Short for Communist Information Bureau, the Cominform was the successor to the Comintern (q.v.). It was created in Poland in September 1947, and its original members were the communist parties of the Soviet Union, Poland, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, France, and Italy.

Its stated purpose was to disseminate propaganda and promote international communist solidarity; but it was, like the Comintern, created to carry out Stalin's foreign policy. The Cominform was largely unsuccessful; Yugoslavia was expelled for its dissidence in 1948 and the French and Italian communist parties were unable to prevent the implementation of the Marshall Plan. Nevertheless, the Cominform was important as a means of assisting communist parties to undermine social democratic parties. It was dissolved in April 1956. (*See also* Comintern)

COMINTERN Short for the Communist International, also known as the Third International, the Comintern was formed in Moscow in 1919 as a means of assuming communist leadership of international socialism. During the 1920s and 1930s, the Comintern coordinated communist parties so as to meet the needs and interests of the Soviet Union. Stalin formally dissolved the Comintern in 1943. (*See also* Cominform, Popular Front)

COMMISSION OF SOCIALIST TEACHERS OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (CSTEC) The CSTEC was formed in 1989 to represent organizations that were part of the International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers (q.v.) within the European Community. In 1990 it had member organizations in twelve countries. (*See also* International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers)

COMMITTEE OF THE INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST CONFERENCE (COMISCO) The COMISCO was formed in London in March 1948 in the aftermath of the communist assumption of power in Czechoslovakia in the previous month and the absorption of social and social democratic parties by communist parties throughout Central and Eastern Europe. It was intended to be a more representative body than its predecessor, the Socialist Information and Liaison Office (q.v.). The COMISCO organized the Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe to preserve the tradition of social democracy in those countries. At its second conference in Vienna later in 1948, the COMISCO expelled the Italian Socialist Party (q.v.) led by Pietro Nenni because of its dependence on the communist party. This conference also agreed to

revive the idea of a democratic socialist international which had been moribund since the demise of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) at Brussels in March 1940. At the Paris conference of the COMISCO in 1949, Julius Braunthal (q.v.) was elected secretary and administrative steps were taken to prepare a declaration of the fundamental principles and aims of democratic socialism. At the Frankfurt conference in July 1951, this declaration was adopted and the COMISCO became the Socialist International (q.v.). (*See also* Frankfurt Declaration, Socialist International, Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe)

COMMUNES Communes—communities of like-minded individuals—occupy a generally marginal, but symbolically important place in the history of socialism. Before the nineteenth century, communes were generally associated with the dissident traditions of Christianity (q.v.) such as the Anabaptist commune of Münster, Germany, between 1534 and 1536, the Pilgrim Fathers in Massachusetts in 1620, and the Diggers (q.v.) in England in 1649. Such movements were often linked with millenarianism too. Communes served two main purposes: (1) they were an escape from mainstream society, which the believers judged to be oppressive, and (2) they sought to demonstrate by their example that it was possible to build an alternative society.

Within socialism, communes tended to be most popular in periods of economic hardship, notably the 1840s, 1890s, and 1930s. Robert Owen (q.v.) created a socialist commune in Indiana in 1825; significantly, he bought the land from a dissident Christian sect, the Rappites. In 1829 Charles Fourier (q.v.) made the first significant advocacy of communes as a means of bringing about an alternative society to capitalism based on cooperation. Thereafter, communes were a persistent theme in socialism, even if they were more discussed than practiced because of their cost.

Most socialist communes that were begun on an entirely new basis were short-lived affairs. For example, the Australian English-born socialist William Lane (1861-1917) led a group of supporters to found a socialist commune in Paraguay in 1893 to get away from the severe economic depression that gripped Australia. Lane was an autocrat, and his rule led to discontent and to a split that saw him and some of his supporters leave the original commune and found

another one, also in Paraguay. The communes fell apart from 1905.

Where communes were based on wide support, such as the Paris Commune (q.v.) or the communes of the anarchists in Andalusia during the Spanish Civil War (q.v.), their ends came through repressive violence from national governments. Like the communes of Christian dissidents in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was their apparent success, not their failures, that made them such a threat to conservative institutions. The great success story of socialist communes has been the kibbutz (q.v.) in Israel.

Of the 130 works of utopian fiction published in English between 1813 and 1985 which were sympathetic to socialism, 15 had communes as their principal theme. Of these works, three were published in the 1840s, three in the 1890s, and three in the 1970s. (*See also* Anarchism, Diggers, François-Marie-Charles Fourier, Kibbutz, Robert Owen, Paris Commune, Utopian Socialism)

COMMUNISM A general term for the revolutionary tradition of socialism based on the interpretation of Marx's writings by Engels and Lenin (qq.v.). Other strands of communist thought were articulated by Trotsky and Mao. Under Leninism, communism rejected the revisionist (q.v.) approach of gradually moving toward socialism and opted for a coup followed by dictatorship in the name of the proletariat, an approach ultimately justified by a controversial reference to future socialist society in Marx's critique of the Gotha Program (q.v.). Before 1914, revolutionary socialists—apart from anarchists (q.v.)—were a minority within what was then a unified movement; in addition, there were fundamental differences of opinion among revolutionary socialists, most especially by opponents of Lenin's idea of a small, professional party by theorists such as Rosa Luxemburg (q.v.).

World War I upset the balance of opinion within the socialist movement. The extraordinarily high cost of the war in life and goods led to soaring inflation, disenchantment with the war and political instability. The success of the Bolshevik coup in November 1917, the most dramatic outcome of these trends, transformed the revolutionary part of socialism into a movement in its own right. Although the Soviet government inherited a backward society by the standards of Western Europe and North America, it needs to be remembered that the former Russian empire had been the world's

tenth industrial power in 1910 and commanded huge resources of population, agriculture, and minerals such as gold. It also inherited a centralized, autocratic political tradition unaccustomed to democratic processes. With these advantages, the communist government began a propaganda war against opposing political creeds, especially their main competitor, reformist socialist political parties, through the Comintern (q.v.), the founding of national communist parties, and a campaign to infiltrate labor unions (q.v.).

This aggression and the rejection of parliamentary democracy by the communists shattered the former unity of international socialism. The sticking point for social democratic parties was the tendency towards dictatorship evident in communism which was condemned by intellectuals as diverse as Kautsky and Luxemburg in 1918, and foreshadowed by Bernstein (qq.v.) as early as 1899 drawing on the precedent of the French Revolution of 1789. The Western European social democratic parties tried to revive the Second International (q.v.) in 1919, but rejected a merger with the Comintern. A compromise international body, the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (q.v.) was formed in 1921, but it too failed to thrive and merged with the remnants of the former Socialist International to form the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.).

During 1919 the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) used military force against communist uprisings in Berlin in January—the Spartacist uprising under Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg—and crushed the soviet republic in Bavaria which operated from April 4 to May 1.

Stalin, Lenin's successor, abandoned the overt policy of fomenting international communist revolution and concentrated on using the state to industrialize the Soviet Union. Agriculture (q.v.) was forcibly collectivized at a cost of millions of lives, a policy originally planned by Lenin. Communist parties were made instruments of Soviet foreign policy and the campaign of denigrating social democratic parties was continued, epitomized by the term "social fascists." It has been argued that by weakening these parties, particularly the German Social Democratic Party, the communists assisted Hitler's rise to power in 1933. During the Spanish Civil War (q.v.) the Soviet Union provided military hardware to the republican government (for the price of its gold reserves) and personnel through the International Brigades (q.v.), but also used its

presence to destroy anarchism (q.v.) as an effective competitor to communism. The seriousness of the threat posed by fascism led to the temporary alliance of the Popular Front (q.v.). Although Stalin's Non-Aggression Pact with Hitler in August 1939 cost communism much of its idealistic appeal in Western democracies, much goodwill was regained by communist leadership of the partisan movement in Eastern Europe during World War II.

After World War II, Stalin extended his communist dictatorship over the parts of Eastern Europe that had been conquered by the Red Army. The social democratic parties of East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania were forced to merge with their communist parties between 1946 and 1948; the Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (q.v.) was suppressed in 1948 but not formally outlawed. It was this background that fostered the reemergence of noncommunist international socialist bodies culminating in the formation of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1951. The military threat posed by the Soviet Union and the ideological threat of communism in the 1950s forced the continental Western European social democratic parties to distance themselves from their Marxist heritage, notably in Austria (1958) and in Germany with the Godesberg Program (q.v.) in 1958, and to proclaim their adherence to democratic values. In France and Italy, the communist parties competed strongly with the socialist parties for the working-class vote. In Italy the Communist Party overshadowed the Italian Socialist Party (q.v.) until the 1960s. In France, the Communist Party remained strong until the late 1970s.

The apparent unity of communism after World War II was fractured by the expulsion of Yugoslavia in 1948 from the Cominform (q.v.), but disenchantment with its violence and autocracy among communist party members in Western democracies only began to set in after 1956 with the suppression of the Hungarian uprising at cost of 50,000 lives, an event that laid the foundations for the New Left (q.v.). The military suppression of the reformist Czechoslovak communist government in 1968 by the Soviet Union drained most of the remaining moral capital out of communism in Western democracies and gave rise to the debates over Eurocommunism—reconciling communism with civil rights and the right of political opposition—in the 1970s.

With the collapse of communist regimes in the Soviet Union and in countries dependent on it from 1989, relations between communism and democratic socialism took a new turn. First, there was a revival of social democratic parties in Eastern Europe. Although they tended to fare poorly in subsequent elections, they became an established part of the political landscape. Second, there was profound questioning within Western communist parties about their future role. Some, notably the French party, opted to remain more or less as they were, but the Italian party transformed itself into the Democratic Party of the Left in February 1991. (*See also* Comintern, Cominform, Democratic Party of the Left, International Brigades, Marxism, Party of the Democratic Left, Popular Front)

COMMUNIST INTERNATIONAL (*See* Comintern)

CONFEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST PARTIES IN THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY (CSPEC) The CSPEC was set up in Luxembourg in June 1973 as a successor to the Bureau of Social Democratic Parties originally formed in January 1957. An associated organization with the Socialist International (q.v.), the aims of the CSPEC were to strengthen the European socialist movement, to exchange information between socialist/social democratic political parties and to guarantee close relations with the Socialist Group in the European Parliament. In 1990 the CSPEC represented 16 political parties in 13 countries. (*See also* Socialist Group in the European Parliament)

CONGRESS SOCIALIST PARTY (*See* Indian Socialist Party)

CO-OPERATIVE COMMONWEALTH FEDERATION The Co-operative Commonwealth Federation was a political movement founded in western Canada in 1932 by farmers, socialist groups, and the Brotherhood of Railway Employees. It advocated the nationalization of banks, essential services and natural resources, programs to stabilize the prices of agricultural produce, social security, producers' and consumers' cooperatives, programs to create jobs, graduated taxation, and government economic planning generally. Representatives of the federation first gained government in Saskatchewan in 1944. During the 1950s it attracted about 15

percent of the vote in national elections. It was a member of the Socialist International (q.v.) and in 1961 became one of the founders of the New Democratic Party (q.v.). (*See also* New Democratic Party)

COOPERATIVE MOVEMENT *Cooperative movement* is a general term for groups of voluntary associations whose members work together for their mutual economic advantage through the production or distribution of goods and services. With labor unions and political parties, the cooperative movement has been one of main strands in the history of democratic socialism and the most practical expression of the collectivist impulse that gathered force during the nineteenth century. Cooperatives began in Britain at least as early as the 1760s. In 1760 a cooperative flour mill was owned and operated by shipwrights employed at the government dockyard at Woolwich, London. The mill was burned down; arson by six bakers was suspected but not proved. In 1769 some weavers at Fenwick in Scotland formed a cooperative society, the first such society formed in Britain. Although there was some revival of interest in cooperatives during the inflationary 1790s, it was not until the late 1820s that there was a more sustained renewal of interest under the stimulus of Robert Owen (q.v.). Although Owen's ideas were impractical as far as cooperatives were concerned, his legacy was important for holding five national conferences between 1831 and 1833, thereby providing a precedent for later developments. Elsewhere in Europe cooperative societies were formed in France and Italy from the 1830s. Although not officially political, national conferences of these societies that were held later in the century contributed to the growth of a wider outlook and added to the cohesion of working-class movements in Western Europe.

In the United Kingdom, the cooperative movement was revived permanently at Rochdale, England, when 28 flannel weavers met after a failed strike in 1843 and decided to form a cooperative store based on cash-only sales, charging the going commercial rate for goods, supplying good quality goods at the correct weight, and distributing a dividend to members based on the profits. Less well known, the principles included the concept of vertical integration—seeking to control the production of goods as well as their selling—and to form links with national and international bodies of a similar

kind. The Rochdale store was opened in December 1844. After trading for a year, it had 80 members, a figure that grew to 12,000 by 1894. The principles of the Rochdale store provided a model for cooperatives everywhere.

The British cooperative movement grew from 15,000 members in 1851, to 340,550 by 1872, and to 1.8 million by 1900, within 1,817 locally-controlled societies. A very important development occurred in Manchester in 1863 when the Co-operative Wholesale Society (CWS) (q.v.) was formed. The success of the CWS gave the whole movement a financial strength it might have otherwise lacked. The cooperative movement was important not just for improving the living standards of members by the payment of the dividend, but also as a source of unadulterated food at a time when adulteration of food by retailers was rife. Cooperatives were strongest in manufacturing and mining areas where they were able to supply large, stable working-class communities. They assisted union members and their families during strikes and played an occasional part in twentieth-century British labor politics. One reason for the success of the British cooperative movement was that it pioneered both retailing and wholesaling and anticipated trends often well before private enterprises. Cooperatives were far less successful in countries where wholesaling and retailing were well organized.

The cooperative movement often figured in debates about what form a future socialist society should take. Producer cooperatives were favored by Ferdinand Lassalle and received support in the Gotha Program of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) in 1875. One of best points Eduard Bernstein (q.v.) made about the need to update Marx's ideas in the 1890s was that Marx did not take into account the remarkable growth of the cooperative movement. In 1902 Karl Kautsky (q.v.) envisaged that the socialist society of the future would have consumer and producers' cooperatives as well as nationalized industries.

In 1895 the International Co-operative Alliance (q.v.) was formed in London by representatives from Belgium, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Serbia, Australia, India, Argentina, and the United States. Consumer cooperatives also became a feature of retailing in Britain, Belgium, Israel, and Scandinavia but not the United States. By 1919 they claimed 4.1 million members in Britain. In Italy and Germany the cooperative

movement was suppressed by the fascists and its considerable assets were seized. Where permitted, the cooperative movement grew steadily after 1945, particularly agricultural cooperatives in Asia and Africa. In Western economies, producer cooperatives have not been particularly successful. Although British consumer cooperatives have declined since the 1960s, the CWS has been commercially successful. For the year ending January 1994 it had a turnover of 7.1 billion pounds and represented 8.2 million members. (*See also* Co-operative Wholesale Society, Co-operative Party, International Co-operative Alliance, Robert Owen, Producer Cooperatives)

CO-OPERATIVE PARTY The Co-operative Party was formed by the British cooperative movement at its congress at Swansea, England, in May 1917. Previously the movement had relied on a joint parliamentary committee (originally formed in 1880 with the Liberal Party) to represent its interests. Although a minority in the cooperative movement had long advocated direct political representation, it was the discriminatory economic policies of the British government against the movement during World War I that tilted the balance of opinion in favor. Specifically the movement was denied representation on wheat, sugar, and coal commissions, even though it was then Britain's largest sugar wholesaler and retailer. It was also threatened with being included in excess profits tax legislation. The vote in favor of the formation of the Co-operative Party was carried by 1,979 to 201. In 1918 ten Co-operative Party candidates stood for election of whom one was elected to the House of Commons. Relations between the Co-operative Party and the British Labour Party (q.v.) were harmonious. Although a general understanding between the two parties was reached in 1926-27, no formal agreement was signed until 1938. From 1946 candidates for the Co-operative Party campaigned as "Labour and Co-operative." Despite its unusual nature, the arrangement between the two parties has worked well. In 1945 23 members of the Co-operative Party were elected to the House of Commons, the party's highest level of representation until May 1, 1997 when 24 members were elected in the landslide to the British Labour Party. (*See also* British Labour Party, Cooperative Movement)

CO-OPERATIVE WHOLESALE SOCIETY (CWS) The CWS was formed in Manchester, England, in 1863 to provide a national wholesaling service to the cooperative movement (q.v.) In England. It was not just the first body of its kind in the cooperative movement but also one of the first national wholesalers in the world. Representing 18,000 members in 1864, it had grown to 1.2 million by 1900 and to nearly 4.6 million by 1930. In 1994, despite a substantial declines elsewhere in the British cooperative movement, it still represented 8.2 million members. The CWS also undertook a range of educational and other activities designed to promote and extend cooperation. The CWS provided a model for other countries such as Belgium (1900) and the countries of Scandinavia (1918). An International Cooperative Wholesale Society was formed in 1924. (*See also* Cooperative Movement)

CRAXI, BETTINO (1934-) An Italian socialist politician, Craxi was born in Milan and was active in the socialist youth (q.v.) movement and journalism in the 1950s. Using Milan as his power base, he was a protégé of Pietro Nenni (1891-1980) and became a member of the central committee of the Italian Socialist Party (ISP) in 1957. From there he went on to be a member of the national executive of the ISP in 1965 and deputy president from 1970 to 1976. In 1976 he became general secretary of the ISP, a post he held until 1993. In 1977 he became a vice-president of the Socialist International (q.v.). In 1983 he formed a coalition government—the first to be headed by a prime minister from the ISP—which lasted until 1987. In July 1994 he was convicted of fraud and sentenced to eight and a half year in jail. But as he had moved to Tunisia and claimed he was too ill to return to Italy, the sentence was made *in absentia*. (*See also* Italian Socialist Party)

CROSLAND, CHARLES ANTHONY RAVEN (1918-1977) British labor theorist, author, and politician, Anthony Crosland was born in St. Leonard-on-Sea, Sussex. During World War II he served as a parachutist. In 1956 he published *The Future of Socialism*, advocating that the Labour Party should shift its emphasis from the nationalization of industry to its modernization. He argued that Keynesian economics solved the main problems of the management of capitalist economies, particularly unemployment (q.v.), and that

the prime concern of socialism should be to ensure the equitable distribution of the benefits of economic growth. His views were criticized for ignoring the importance of efficient government administration, long a concern of Fabianism (q.v.). Crosland led an unsuccessful campaign in 1959-60 to remove the socialization objective (q.v.) from the constitution of the British Labour Party. He served in the cabinets of Labour governments in 1964-66, 1966-76, 1974, and 1974-1977. His revisionist ideas were absorbed by the British Labour Party in practice, though not in theory. (*See also* British Labour Party, Revisionism)

CURTIN, JOHN JOSEPH (1885-1945) Australian prime minister from 1941 to 1945, Curtin was born in Creswick, Victoria. He worked as a printer and a clerk before joining the Victorian Socialist Party in about 1906. In 1916 he was briefly jailed for his opposition to conscription. In 1917 he moved to Western Australia and became editor of the *Westralian Worker*. He was elected to the federal parliament in 1928 for the Australian Labor Party (q.v.), defeated in 1931, but regained the seat in 1934. He became leader of the federal parliamentary party in 1935. On October 7, 1941, Curtin became prime minister after the failure of the previous conservative government to maintain its majority in the house of representatives. As wartime prime minister, Curtin recalled the Australian forces committed to the Middle East back to Australia (1941) and appealed to the United States for help (1942). His administration introduced reforms that extended the welfare state (q.v.) in Australia; for example unemployment (q.v.) and sickness benefits in 1944. The strain of the war contributed to Curtin's death at 60 in 1945. (*See also* Australian Labor Party)

CZECH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (CSDP) The CSDP was founded in 1878 and functioned as an autonomous part of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.) from 1889 to 1911. A social democratic party was formed in Bohemia in 1896, and a separate National Socialist Party was formed in 1897. Despite its name, this party was a genuine socialist party and had no connections with fascism. At the 1907 national elections, the social democrats attracted 40 percent of the vote. The membership of the CSDP rose from 40,000 in 1900 to 150,000 in 1913. During World War I,

national independence became the leading issue for Czech socialists. Thomas Masaryk (1850-1937), a liberal and professor of philosophy at Prague university, joined by three socialist groups, achieved a merger of Bohemians and Slovaks to form the Czech Republic in 1918. The CSDP participated in the coalition government for the first time in 1919. At the 1920 elections, the CSDP received 25.7 percent of the vote and the National Socialists, 8.1 percent. The formation of the Czech Communist Party caused a split in the CSDP. In March 1939 the Czech Republic was dissolved with the Nazi occupation.

The CSDP was revived in the Czech lands only in 1945. At the elections in 1946 the CSDP attracted 13 percent of the vote, compared to 13 percent for the National Socialists and 40 percent for the communists, who were held in high esteem for leading the resistance to Nazi rule. In 1948 the CSDP was forced to merge with the Communist Party and henceforth existed only as a party in exile.

In November 1989 preparations were made to revive the CSDP and it was officially reestablished in March 1990. Of its 11,000 members at that time, about 20 percent had been members before 1948. By September 1992 the membership of the CSDP had risen to 14,000, and it had become a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.). Yet the CSDP attracted only 3.8 percent of the vote in the June 1990 elections. On January 1, 1993, Czechoslovakia was peacefully divided into the Czech and Slovak Republics despite broad popular opposition to the move. In February 1993 the CSDP adopted as its official title *Česká strana sociálně demokratická*. Between June 1992 and June 1996 the CSPD increased its share of the vote in national elections from 6.5 to 26.4 percent. (*See also* Slovakian Social Democratic Party)

D

DANISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (DSDP) Socialism in Denmark had an unpromising beginning. In 1872 the Danish section of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) tried to hold a meeting in support of striking bricklayers, but it was dispersed by the police. In 1876 some socialists and union members created a joint political and economic labor organization, but it was not until February 1878 that the DSDP was formed. In 1884 the DSDP scored

its first electoral success when two of its representatives were elected to the lower house of the Danish parliament (*Folketing*) and gained 4 percent of the total vote. Party membership rose from 14,000 in 1890, to 30,000 in 1901, and to 49,000 in 1913. The DSDP increased its share of the national vote from 19 to 30 percent between 1901 and 1913. In 1916 the leader of the DSNP, Thorvald Stauning, accepted an invitation to join the cabinet of the Radical Party. For most of the period from 1916 to 1920 he served as minister for labor. After the 1924 elections, the DSDP formed its first government, which lasted until 1926. In 1928 it declared a membership of 148,500 to the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.).

In 1929 the DSDP regained power in coalition with the Radical Party. In 1935 the DSDP and the Radical Party won a majority in the upper house (*Landsting*) for the first time, which enabled the DSDP government to introduce a wide range of progressive laws. The DSDP was fiercely democratic and anticommunist. In 1936 it issued a declaration against communism and refused any cooperation with the Communist Party including the creation of a popular front (q.v.) to fascism.

After the Nazi takeover of Denmark in April 1940, the five largest political parties put their differences to one side and agreed to unite to secure the "independence and integrity" of Denmark. Following the 1943 elections, the DSDP received 46 percent of the vote making it the largest party. After the Danish parliament refused to hand over saboteurs to the Nazis in 1943, the Germans declared martial law and arrested thousands. Active resistance to Nazi rule continued for the rest of World War II. After World War II, the DSDP formed a coalition government that lasted from May to October 1945 and governed in its own right from 1946 to 1950, and from 1953 to 1968; it claimed 123,000 members in 1975. The DSDP led minority governments from 1971 to 1973, 1975 to 1982, and since January 1993 Poul Nyrup Rasmussen (1943-) has been prime minister. In September 1994 the DSDP received 34.6 percent of the national vote. (*See also* Jens Otto Krag, Hans Christian Svane Hansen, Hans Christian Hedtoft-Hansen, Thorvald Stauning)

DEBS, EUGENE VICTOR (1855-1926) Born in Indiana, Debs joined the railroad at 15, became a locomotive fireman at 17, and served as

secretary of the Terre Haute local of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen for three years. He progressed quickly through the union ranks and served one term in the Indiana legislature as a Democrat in 1885. Despite his success in leading a craft union, Debs was a supporter of industrial unionism and wanted a single union for the railroad industry. In 1892 he resigned his union posts and organized the American Railways Union, which aimed to recruit all railroad employees. A strike by the union against the Great Northern Railroad in 1894 succeeded, but was followed by the massive defeat of a strike against the Pullman Palace Car Company later in 1894; the union was formally wound up in 1897. Debs was charged with conspiring to interfere with the passage of federal mail and served a six-month jail sentence, which transformed him into a socialist. While in jail he read works by Bellamy, Berger, Blatchford, Grönlund, Kautsky, and Marx (qq.v.).

In June 1897 he formed Social Democracy of America in Chicago, a political party that wanted the nationalization (q.v.) of monopolies, public works for the unemployed, and an eight-hour working day. With Victor L. Berger (q.v.) he formed the Social Democracy Party of America in 1898 which, following mergers with other parties, became the Socialist Party of America (qq.v.) in 1901. Debs was a presidential candidate for the Socialist Party in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. He took part in the formation of the Industrial Workers of the World (q.v.) in 1905 but disagreed with its policies and left in 1908. Opposed to America's participation in World War I, Debs was convicted under the Espionage Act; pardoned by President Harding in 1921, he served three years of a ten-year sentence. Debs ran for president in 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920. In 1912 he attracted 900,369 votes or 6 percent of all votes cast. (*See also* Victor Louis Berger, Industrial Workers of the World)

DECOLONIZATION (*See* Imperialism)

DELEON, DANIEL (1852-1914) Left-wing American socialist, DeLeon was believed to have been born on the island of Curaçao in the Caribbean to Dutch-Jewish parents. He was educated in Europe and emigrated to the United States sometime between 1872 and 1874. He taught secondary school in New York and went on to

graduate from the law school at Columbia University. Later he lectured in international law at the university. After being denied a professorship, he resigned in 1889. He entered radical politics by assisting the mayoralty campaign of Henry George (q.v.) in 1886 and became a socialist through reading *Looking Backward* (1888) by Edward Bellamy (q.v.). He was also influenced by Darwinism and August Bebel (q.v.); DeLeon made the first American translation of Bebel's *Women and Socialism*. Dissatisfied with his experience in both the Knights of Labor and Bellamy's Nationalist clubs, DeLeon joined the Socialist Labor Party (q.v.) in 1891 and became more extreme in his views. He became editor of its journal, *The People*, and used it to promote the idea of class struggle. The depression of the 1890s encouraged him to believe that capitalism (q.v.) could not survive. In 1905 DeLeon helped to found the Industrial Workers of the World (q.v.), but he helped to split it too. (*See also* Socialist Labor Party of America)

DEMOCRATIC ACTION Democratic Action was formed in Venezuela in 1936 by labor unions (q.v.) and took its present title (in Spanish *Acción Democrática*) in 1941, when unions were legalized. Its founder was Rómulo Betancourt (1908-) who led a coup that brought in a constitution (1945-47). But he was ousted in a countercoup in 1948. Betancourt was president between 1959 and 1964, reforming land ownership, and nationalizing oil and mineral reserves. In 1966 Democratic Action was given observer status in the Socialist International (q.v.), became a consultative member by 1981, and was made a full member in the mid-1980s. In 1986 Democratic Action claimed a membership of 1.5 million. Despite serious economic problems since 1987—which caused its popularity to drop—Democratic Action has continued to be Venezuela's largest single political party.

DEMOCRATIC ACTION PARTY (DAP) The DAP was established in 1966 as the Malaysian section of the People's Action Party of Singapore, which was formed in 1954. After protesting the unfairness of the August 1986 election in which the DAP won 20.8 percent of the vote but only 13.6 percent of the 177 seats in the house of representatives, the party's leadership was subjected to a government crackdown. Sixteen members were arrested and five

received two-year jail sentences. The DAP was made a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1987, when it had about 20,000 members.

DEMOCRATIC CONSTITUENT ASSEMBLY (DCA) The DCA was formed in Tunisia in 1934 and took its current name (*Rassemblement Démocratique Destourien*) in 1988. Its founder was Habib Ben Ali Bourguiba (1903-) who was arrested after a general strike in 1938. He was exiled and the DCA, which sought independence from France, was dissolved. The DCA was reestablished by Salah Ben Yousseff in 1945 to resume the fight for independence which it gained in 1956. Bourguiba became president in 1957 and held the post until 1987, when he deposed in a bloodless coup. The DCA was a member of the League of African Democratic Socialist Parties (q.v.) in 1987, when it claimed a membership of 800,000. Since that time it has been the ruling party of Tunisia and has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1993.

DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY (DLP) A Brazilian Socialist Party was formed in 1916. In 1921, following its decision to join the Comintern (q.v.), a minority broke away and formed a rival party in 1925. In 1928 the trade unions formed the Labor Party of Brazil (*Partido Trabalhista Brasilero*), based on the British Labour Party (q.v.); the party claimed 800,000 members by 1930 of whom about 270,000 were trade union members. The party was suppressed by the Vargas dictatorship in the 1930s. Its ability to function in the post-1945 period was limited by government repression with political parties being banned in 1965. The DLP was formed in Brazil in June 1980 as the *Partido Democrático Trabalhista* by Leonel da Moria Brizola (1922-), who had been leader of the Labor Party of Brazil before 1965 and returned in September 1979 after fifteen years in exile. The DLP has been a consultative member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1987.

DEMOCRATIC LEFT (DL) The DL was established as the *Izquierda Democráticà* in Ecuador in November 1977; it is also known as the *Partido Izquierda Democráticà.* In 1978 it won 11 percent of the presidential vote in the national elections. It has been a member of

the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1987. Its membership in 1985 was claimed to be 250,000.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF THE LEFT (DPL) The DPL or (*Partito Democratico della Sinistra*) was previously the Italian Communist Party, the largest and most successful party of its kind in any Western country. Moves to form the DPL were made just after the fall of the Berlin Wall in late 1989, and the Party's congress in February 1991 gave its approval to the change. The DPL was admitted to full membership of the Socialist International (q.v.) in September 1992. The transition to a noncommunist party at first cost the DPL heavily in electoral support and membership. Between 1987 and 1992 the DPL's share of the national vote fell from 26.6 to 16.1 percent, and its membership fell from 1.5 million to 1 million over the same period, but since 1992, its fortunes have improved to the point where the DPL has assumed the leadership of the Italian left, particularly after the demise of the Italian Socialist Party (q.v.) in November 1994. To contest the national elections on April 21, 1996, the DPL formed the Olive Tree alliance with four other parties, including the Greens, and won 284 of the 630 seats in the chamber of deputies—it won 21.1 percent of the vote for the one quarter of seats elected by proportional representation—and 157 of the 315 elective seats in the senate to form a center-left coalition government. (*See also* Italian Socialist Party)

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISTS OF AMERICA (DSA) The DSA was formed in 1982 by the merger of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee (formed in 1982) and the New American Movement (formed in 1971) in Detroit. It claimed a membership of 7,000 in 1987 and is a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.).

DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTY (DSP) The DSP was formed in Guatemala in 1978 as the *Partido Socialista Democrático*, a title first used in 1944 by opponents of the Ubico dictatorship. After many of its members were murdered by death squads in 1979-80, most of the leadership of the DSP went into exile in Costa Rica. At the 1984 national elections, the DSP attracted 3.4 percent of the

vote. It has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1987.

DIGGERS The Diggers were a radical group that emerged during the English Civil War in 1649. Named after the channels they dug to drain unenclosed common wetlands for cultivation, they also called themselves the True Levellers. They established some settlements in Surrey with the object of distributing the produce from common land to the poor. Unlike the Levellers (q.v.), of whom they were an offshoot, the Diggers opposed private property in principle. They opposed the use of violence in achieving their objectives. Whereas the Levellers saw natural law as the foundation of individual and property rights, the Diggers saw natural law as supporting communal rights. Their settlements in Surrey were destroyed by official harassment and violence. The Diggers have been hailed as forerunners of utopian socialism (q.v.) (*See also* Communes, Levellers, Utopian Socialism)

DOMINICAN REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (DRP) The DRP was formed as the *Partido Revolucionario Dominicano* in Cuba by opponents of the Trujillo dictatorship led by Juan Bosch in 1939. After Trujillo's assassination in 1961, the DRP won power in the 1962 presidential election with Bosch as president. But he was overthrown by the military in 1963. The United States restored civilian rule in 1965 by military force. The DRP, which led the opposition to military rule, remained in political opposition until May 1978, when Silvestre Antonio Guzmán Fernández won government; it was the first peaceful transfer of political power in the history of the republic. The DRP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1987, when it claimed a membership of 750,000.

DUBČEK, ALEXANDER (1921-1992) Slovak communist and politician, Dubček was born in Uhrovec. He fought in the resistance to the Nazi occupation during World War II. He became first secretary of the Communist Party of Slovakia in 1963 and in 1967 he used Slovak nationalism (q.v.) and reformers to oust Antonin Novotný as the first secretary of Czechoslovakia in January 1968. From April 1968 his attempts to liberalize the communist regime—

summarized in the slogan "communism with a human face"—included measures such an independent judiciary, human rights, and economic decentralization. His reformist government was crushed by a Soviet invasion and Dubček was removed from office. Dubček's last political role was to lead the Slovakian Social Democratic Party. (*See also* Slovakian Social Democratic Party)

DUTCH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS'/LABOR PARTY (DSDW/LP) Like the Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party (q.v.), the DSD/LP developed in a society deeply divided by religion. Trade unions began to emerge after 1866 and became more active during the 1870s. A Social Democratic League was formed in 1881. Originally committed to securing a classless society by constitutional means, it was hampered by the limitations of the political system and tended toward anarchism (q.v.); it dissolved itself in 1900. Drawing on the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) for financial and policy support, a Social Democratic Workers' Party (*Sociaal-Democratische Arbeiders Partij*) was formed in 1891 and developed along similar lines. The DSD/LP was essentially a moderate party and by 1895 claimed 700 members. In 1909 many of its left-wing members were expelled. Between 1900 and 1913 its membership rose from 3,000 to 26,000, reaching 48,000 in 1920. Its share of the vote in national elections grew slowly. Between 1888 and 1901, the vote for the DSD/LP increased from 1 to 10 percent. By 1919 it attracted 19 percent of the national vote following the institution of universal male suffrage in 1918. In 1920 the DSD/LP adopted a socialization objective (q.v.) for both industry and agriculture (q.v.).

Although invited to participate in a Liberal Party cabinet as early as 1913, the DSD/LP declined and did not participate in a coalition government until 1939. Rejection by Dutch Catholics limited the ability of DLP to become a majority political party. In a declaration issued in 1935 the DSD/LP maintained the need for the class struggle and the ultimate desirability of the classless society, but proposed practical measures for economic stimulation.

Willem Schermerhorn (1894-1977), a leader of the Dutch Anti-Fascist League in the 1930s and a Resistance leader from 1943, was prime minister of a provisional coalition government from June 1945 to July 1946. He was also one of the prime movers in the

transformation of the DSD/LP into the Dutch Labor Party (*Partij van der Arbeid*) in 1946 through its merger with the Radical Democrats, the Christian Democrats and other political parties. As in Austria, the spirit of cooperation among political parties was heightened by harsh wartime imprisonment. To the disappointment of the DLP, the communists emerged after World War II with enhanced status because of their leading role in the Resistance. The communists won 11 percent of the vote in 1946 and 6 percent in 1952. Religious parties also reestablished themselves. The DLP continued to poll between 23 and 30 percent of the vote between 1946 and 1972, but was unable to bridge the religious divisions of Dutch society. Surveys of voting preferences in 1968 found that 55 percent of those who were not church members voted for the DLP (compared to 72 percent in 1956), 36 percent of those who were members of the Dutch Reform church voted for the DLP (compared to 41 percent in 1956), and only 7 percent of those who were Roman Catholics voted the DLP (compared to 5 percent in 1956). In 1959 the DLP removed all references to Marxism (q.v.) in its statement of principles. In 1970 the DLP claimed a membership of 98,700 and in 1992 73,000. It has been a participant in coalition governments from 1965 to 1966 and from 1981 to 1982; in 1989 the DLP entered into a coalition government with the Christian Democratic Appeal Party. At the 1994 national elections, the DLP received 24 per cent of the vote. Wim Kok (1938-) has been prime minister of Denmark since August 1994 and the first DLP leader to exclude the Christian Democrats from the government.

E

EBERT, FRIEDRICH (1871-1925) German socialist politician. Ebert was born in Heidelberg. Unlike his father who was a master tailor, he became saddler and traveled around Germany to find work. His participation in labor unions (q.v.) led to him becoming a socialist by 1889, but his socialism was of a very moderate kind, akin to the liberalism of most of the British labor movement, which saw socialism as a means of improving the living standards of the working class (q.v.). In 1905 he became secretary-general of the German Social Democratic Party (GSDP) and greatly improved its administration, something not possible in the political repression

that had characterized most of the party's history up to that time. In 1913 he took over from August Bebel (q.v.) as GSDP chairman after his election to the Reichstag (parliament) in 1912. In August 1914 he persuade the GSDP to vote for the war appropriations, a policy that committed the party to an unlimited war. By 1917 antiwar feeling had divided the party and in March an independent group was formed that split from the "majority" party.

After the German army's offensive on the Western Front failed in August 1918, Germany's political fabric began to unravel. In October 1918 Ebert was a pivotal player in organizing a coalition government of socialist and nonsocialist parties under Prince Max of Baden. Ebert was strongly opposed to the revolutionary impetus that had developed, but was unable to stop it. On November 9, 1918, Prince Max asked him to take his place as chancellor. Ebert accepted, but the next day Philipp Scheidemann (q.v.) proclaimed a republic in Berlin and the two socialist parties (the majority and the breakaway left-wing independents) formed a provisional government and made Ebert its chancellor. The government announced a program of nationalization (q.v.) of industries that had become monopolies and the introduction of a democratic constitution. After elections in January 1919, a coalition of the GSDP, the Catholic Center Party, and the Democratic Party gained a majority and elected Ebert as the first president of the Weimar Republic (February 11), a post he held until his death.

Ebert, determined not to follow the unhappy example of Alexander Kerensky (q.v.) a moderate socialist who lacked the means to be effective, crushed the uprising led by the socialist radicals Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg (q.v.) in January 1919. To do this, Ebert and his government needed the active support of the political right, groups such as the *Freikorps* (volunteers of ex-army officers). The price of this support was that the military-industrial complex and conservative power structure of that had ruled Germany before1918 was left largely intact. In the elections of June 1920 the Social Democrats lost much of their electoral support although they continued to be partners in coalition governments.

The next internal crisis was the Kapp putsch in March 1923, which attempted to restore the monarchy. This was followed by other failed right-wing coups in October and by Hitler's in November in Bavaria. Externally, Germany faced great economic

difficulties. Following the declaration that Germany had defaulted on its obligations to supply coal, the French army occupied the industrial region of the Ruhr. Ebert was wrongly blamed by the German right wing for the country's woes despite the evacuation of the Ruhr and the resolution of the reparation payments issue. The pressures hastened his death in February 1925. (*See also* Gustav Adolf Bauer, German Social Democratic Party, Philipp Scheidemann)

ECONOMISM Economism was a movement within Russian socialism in the early 1900s that was comparable with revisionism. S. N. Prokopovitch, a follower of Eduard Bernstein (q.v.), argued that the political and economic struggle for socialism should be divided: the political struggle should be the province of the liberal middle class and the economic struggle should be left to the working class. He was concerned that if the working class entered the political arena, they would alienate the progressive middle class, which would then support the czarist regime. Lenin (q.v.) attacked this argument in *What is to Be Done?* (1902). He argued that the working class needed its own political organization and that the political and economic struggle could not be divided. (*See also* Leninism, Revisionism)

EDUCATION Education, along with shorter working hours, higher wages, and the extension of the suffrage (q.v.) , was an objective of social reformers long before the rise of socialism as a movement from the 1860s. For example, Thomas Paine listed the education of children as the third point in his suggested eight points of social reform in *The Rights of Man* (1791). Robert Owen (q.v.) placed great emphasis on education as an avenue for social and moral improvement in his factory at New Lanark, Scotland, but he also showed that it was not compatible with child labor, particularly the extraordinarily long hours children were expected to work. From the late 1840s education was a part of the socialist agenda. The *Communist Manifesto* (1848) linked free education for all children in public schools and the abolition of child labor among its demands for social reform.

In 1866 and again in 1868 the congresses of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) resolved to press for legislation for the eight-hour working day and public education for all children.

From the 1870s education assumed greater priority as a socialist objective. The lives of British working-class socialists from the last third of the nineteenth century testify to their determination to acquire literacy and education despite long hours and harsh living conditions. Non-conformist religions such as the Quakers provided important avenues for working-class leaders to acquire an education. For instance, Tom Mann and Ernest Bevin (qq.v.) both gained some of their education from the Quakers. Peter Kropotkin (q.v.) and other anarchists recognized the importance of education in preparing children for adulthood but were critical of the rote learning of their day and supported technical education, especially mathematics and science.

In Sweden the labor movement established its own schools to provide education for the working class and training for labor leaders. Out of 600 pupils who attended these schools between 1906 and 1920, about 10 percent had parliamentary careers with the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.) or in the socialist media. Others were active in the trade unions or the cooperative movement (q.v.).

Socialists realized the value of education, not just as a means of social and moral improvement in its own right, but also as a way of easing the way for the spread of socialism. The motto of the Democratic Federation (formed in 1880), the forerunner of the Social Democratic Federation (SDF) (q.v.), was "Educate. Agitate. Organize." In 1884 the SDF advocated not only free compulsory education for all but also the provision of one wholesome meal a day for each school child. In 1893 Henry M. Hyndman (q.v.), William Thorne (a socialist and leader of the gas workers' union), and S. D. Shallard formed a deputation to the minister of education to present their case for the free school meals. Education was also a priority for the Independent Labour Party (q.v.); there were 57 socialists on English school boards by 1897, most of them members of the Independent Labour Party. By the 1890s free and compulsory education at all levels was a standard feature of the programs of socialist/social democratic parties in Europe and Australia. The program of the Socialist Labor Party of America (q.v.) demanded free, compulsory education for all children under fourteen years.

The socialists' support for higher education for the working class also helped to give rise to the Workers' Educational Association in England in 1904; an International Workers'

Educational Association was formed in 1920. (*See also* International Falcon Movement-Socialist Educational International, International Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers, Socialist Sunday Schools, Youth)

EGALITARIANISM Egalitarianism—the doctrine asserting that all people have equal rights—has been central to the theory and practice of socialism. Notions of egalitarianism arose during the English Civil War among the Levellers (q.v.) who in turn were linked with radical elements of millenarianism that had been present in Christianity (q.v.) in Western Europe at least since the eleventh century. Egalitarianism was given sharper focus by the American Declaration of Independence (1776) and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen (1789), and was absorbed by socialist writers from the 1840s. (*See also* Christianity, Levellers, Utopian Socialism)

ELY, RICHARD THEODORE (1854-1943) Economist and academic, Ely was a leader of Christian socialism (q.v.) in the United States. His books included *French and German Socialism* (1886), *The Labor Movement in America* (1886), *The Social Aspects of Christianity* (1889), and *Socialism: An Examination of Its Nature, Its Strengths and Its Weaknesses with Suggestions for Social Reform* (1894). He was professor of political economy and director of the school of economics, political science and history at the University of Wisconsin. (*See also* Christian Socialism)

ENGELS, FRIEDRICH (1820-1895) With Marx (q.v.), Engels was one of the central figures of socialist history. The son of a wealthy textile manufacturer, he was born in Barmen, Germany, but was a rebel at heart. Through business trips to England from 1842 he became acquainted with Chartism and the followers of Robert Owen (qq.v.). In 1845 he published his best-known work, *The Condition of the Working Class in England* in German; it was not published in English until 1885. In the same year he met Marx and became his lifelong friend, collaborator, and financial supporter. In 1848 he was expelled from Germany for participating in the revolts of that year. From 1850 until his death he lived in England; he was an employee and then partner in his father's business between 1849 and 1869. With Marx, he wrote the *Communist Manifesto* (1848), *The German*

Ideology, and edited the second and third volumes of Marx's *Das Kapital*. He also helped found the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) in 1864. Engels was important in socialist history for the way he sustained Marx and publicized his works. Despite his wealth (q.v.), Engels was a founder of the revolutionary tradition of socialism that evolved into Leninism and communism (qq.v.). (*See also* Karl Heinrich Marx, Marxism)

ERFURT PROGRAM The Erfurt Program was the official policy of the German Social Democratic Party adopted at the party's conference at Erfurt in October 1891. Drafted by Karl Kautsky and Eduard Bernstein (qq.v.), the preamble to the Erfurt Program set out a Marxist view of economic and social development that portrayed the crushing of small businesses by large ones, the growing impoverishment and exploitation of the urban proletariat and peasant proprietors, and increasing levels of unemployment (q.v.). It identified the private ownership of the means of production as the source of this social misery, and it advocated as the solution a political struggle to capture power in order to achieve a social revolution that would abolish class distinctions and create a society in which there was equality of rights and duties for both sexes. This struggle was recognized as international in character.

The program demanded universal, equal, and direct suffrage by secret ballot; the people's the right to initiate or veto legislation; a militia rather than a standing army; freedom to express opinions, hold meetings and form associations; abolition of laws which treated women as inferior to men; a declaration of religion as a private matter; compulsory, public, secular, and free education; free legal administration and assistance; free medical assistance and burials; and a graduated income and property tax. For the protection of labor, the program demanded: the eight-hour day; the prohibition of child labor (under 14 years of age) and night work for most employees; an unbroken period of at least 36 hours rest per week; prohibition of payment in kind instead of wages; government inspection of factories; the legal equality of agricultural laborers and domestic servants with industrial employees; confirmation of the rights of association; and giving employees a share in the administration of their insurance scheme. It remained the party's official policy statement until 1921, when it was replaced by the Görlitz Program. It omitted much of the Marxism, which was largely

replaced in 1925 by the Heidelberg Program. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party)

ERLANDER, TAGE (1901-1985) Swedish social democratic leader, Erlander was born in Ransater and graduated from the University of Lund in 1928. He entered local government politics in 1930 for the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party and was elected to the Riksdag (parliament) in 1932. In 1938 he became minister for social welfare in the government of Per Albin Hansson. After Hansson's unexpected death in 1946, Erlander became prime minister and was one of the architects of the welfare state (q.v.) in Sweden. He supported Sweden's political neutrality and the United Nations. He was prime minister in a series of coalition governments from 1946 to 1968. He retired from politics in 1969. (*See also* Per Albin Hansson, Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party)

ESTONIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (ESDP) The ESDP was created in 1925 from the merger of the Social Democratic Party (which had been formed in 1917 from the Russian Social Democratic Party) and the Independent Socialist Party (previously the Party of the Social Revolutionaries). Estonia was part of the Russian empire between 1721 and 1918. It became a member of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) and claimed to have 4,200 members. At the election of 1923 the two parties that formed the ESDP together received 18.7 percent of the vote. The ESDP participated in a coalition government between December 1924 and June 1926 and provided the prime minister for a government between November 1928 and May 1929. In 1928 the ESDP had 4,500 members and was a member of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.).

After receiving 24 percent of the vote in the 1931 elections, the ESDP entered into a coalition government that remained in office until January 1932. Hitler's victory in Germany in 1933 encouraged fascist sentiment in Estonia and the other Baltic states. The government was replaced and a state of emergency was declared. The ESDP was forced underground and Estonia was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

The first freely conducted elections since the early 1930s were conducted in Estonia in March 1990, and the country's independence was formally recognized by the Russian government

in September 1991. The ESDP (*Eesti Sotsiaaldemokraatlik Partei*) was formed in September 1990 by the merger of three parties: the Estonian Independent Social Democratic Party, the Estonian Democratic Labor Party, and the Russian Social Democratic Party of Estonia. The ESDP was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) by 1994. (*See also* Latvian Social Democratic Party, Lithuanian Social Democratic Party)

EUROPEAN SOCIALIST MOVEMENT (ESM) The ESM was created in February 1947 as the Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe; it was reorganized as the ESM in 1961; its title can also be translated as the European Left Movement. The purpose of the ESM was to promote a politically united Europe based on socialism. In 1995 the ESM had sections in five countries: Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and the United Kingdom. (*See also* Internationalism, Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe)

F

FABIANISM Fabianism was named after the ancient Roman Republican general Quintus Fabius Maximus (d. 203 B.C.) who was famous for his delaying tactics in dealing with a superior adversary, Hannibal. Fabianism was essentially a middle-class organization that sought to covert Britain to socialism by gradually infiltrating the decision-making process, particularly the governing bureaucracy. It sought to win over educated opinion to socialism through well-reasoned publications. Beginning as a quasi-religious group in London in January 1884, its membership came to include some of the most important personalities in British socialism, notably Sidney Webb, George Bernard Shaw, G. D. H. Cole and H. G. Wells. The Fabian Society never had a large membership—it only had 173 members by 1890 and 730 in 1904—but it gained adherents in other English-speaking countries, for example, a Fabian society was begun in Australia in 1895 and influenced revisionism (q.v.). In 1931 there was a split in the society when the New Fabian Research Bureau was established, although this body reunited with the Fabian Society in 1939. In 1943 the Fabian Society claimed a membership of 3,600 in Britain, scarcely a mass movement, but it included many influential people in its ranks.

Assessments of the direct impact of Fabianism, apart from special members such as Sidney Webb, are difficult because Fabianism aimed for gradual change over long periods of time, changes that could occur for reasons other than Fabianism. Fabian societies continue to produce pamphlets on a range of issues of public importance and remain committed to generating ideas, good government, informed discussion, and the dissemination of socialism. (*See also* George Douglas Howard Cole, Revisionism, George Bernard Shaw, Sidney James Webb, Herbert George Wells)

FEBRUARY REVOLUTIONARY PARTY (FRP) The FRP was formed in Paraguay in 1936 as the Partido Revolucionario Febrerista. It led a coup on February 17, 1936, which established Colonel Rafael Franco as leader of the government. He was overthrown by a countercoup in August 1937, and the FRP was banned until mid-1946. It participated in government in 1947 but was expelled for plotting a coup. Franco led a liberal-communist rebellion against the Colorado Party government. In 1959 the FRP purged its left wing and allied itself with the Liberal Party. It was legalized but boycotted elections after 1968, claiming they were fraudulently conducted. The FRP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since the 1970s.

FEDERALISM Federalism was an important concept in the political thought of Proudhon (q.v.). As outlined by him in 1863, it meant the administrative reorganization of society based on communes (q.v.) or associations of individuals. The nation-state was to be replaced by confederations of smaller administrative units. The goal of federalism was to place the control of administration as close to the people as possible. (*See also* Anarchism, Communes, Nationalism, Pierre-Joseph Proudhon)

FICTION (*See* Literature)

FINNISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (FSDP) Socialist ideas began to be promoted in Finland in 1895, and a labor party was created by a national trade union convention in 1899. In 1903 this party, drawing on the example of the Austrian Social Democratic/Socialist Party (q.v.), renamed itself the FSDP (Soumen Sosialidemokraatinen Puolue), adopted a socialist program that

included the preamble from the Erfurt Program and joined the Second International (qq.v.). As part of the Russian empire until 1917, Finnish socialists were preoccupied with national independence. After the 1905 uprising in Russia, the vote was granted to all Finns aged at least 24 years, a reform the FSDP was able to use to gain representation in the unicameral parliament. It proposed progressive labor and socialist legislation but these initiatives were overruled by the Czar. Finnish opposition to Russia resulted in direct rule from Moscow in 1909 and 1910. Finnish opposition to participation in World War I brought further repression. Even so, the FSDP gained 43 percent of the national vote in 1913, the highest level achieved by a European labor/social democratic party at that time. World War I brought a loosening of Russian control, and in the 1916 election, the FSDP won 103 out of 200 seats, the first time that a labor/socialist party had ever won a majority in a legislature in Western Europe. The March 1917 revolution in Russia did not bring the independence requested by the Finnish government, and the severe economic hardships brought by World War I encouraged political extremism.

With the German defeat in 1918, Finland was left alone to organize its own affairs. The government declared Finland to be a republic in June 1919. In 1926 the FSDP formed a minority government under Väinö Alfred Tanner who was also leader of the cooperative movement (q.v.). Although it lacked a majority, Tanner's government was able to institute old age pensions, health insurance, and a reduction in duties on food. It was brought down by the other parties in December 1926. The FSDP was a member of the Labor and Socialist International in 1928 and claimed a membership of 37,700.

The FSDP attracted 34 percent of the vote in 1930 but remained in opposition until 1937, when it joined the Agrarian Party in a coalition government which lasted until 1943. Karl August Fagerholm (1901-1984), a FSDP member and minister for social affairs, was forced to resign from the cabinet of this government for refusing to deport Jews (q.v.) who fled to Finland from Nazi persecution in Germany.

Relations with the Soviet Union polarized Finnish politics from 1939 with adverse effects on the support of the FSDP, which became increasingly opposed to Finnish participation in Germany's war with the Russians. The FSDP was a partner in governments to

varying degrees from 1946 to 1958. The government of Karl Fagerholm (July 1948 to March 1950) was overshadowed by Soviet relations and by internal struggles with its communist sympathizers.

Pressure from the Soviet Union, whose rulers saw the FSDP as pro-American, ensured that no social democrat served in a coalition cabinet between 1958 and May 1966. Rafael Passio (1903-1980), who was FSDP chairman from 1963 to 1975, was prime minister from May 1966 to March 1968. His administration was dominated by internal economic difficulties and by the need to placate the Soviet Union over the neutrality of Finland.

By 1975 the FSDP had 101,000 members and it has been a major participant in coalition governments between 1966 and 1970, 1972 to 1975, 1977 to 1991, and since 1995. Between 1991 and 1995 the FSDP increased its share of the national vote from 22 to 28 percent. Tapio Paavo Lipponen (1941-) of the FSDP has been prime minister of Finland since April 1995. (*See also* Väinö Alfred Tanner)

FIRST INTERNATIONAL (*See* International Workingmen's Association)

FISHER, ANDREW (1862-1928) Coal miner and Australian Labor Party (ALP) leader, Fisher was born in Crosshouse, Ayrshire, Scotland. He began work as a coal miner at the age of ten and was elected secretary of the Ayrshire Miners' Union in 1879; he was an admirer of Keir Hardie (q.v.). In 1881 he was blacklisted by the coal mine owners for taking part in a ten-week strike. He emigrated to Queensland, Australia, in 1885 where he again worked as a coal miner, read works on social science and economics, and became an active member of the Amalgamated Miners' Association which provided him with a base for entry into politics. In 1893 he was elected as a member of the Queensland parliament and served in the brief ministry of Andrew Dawson (1863-1910) in 1899, the first labor government in the world. In 1901 Fisher moved from state to federal politics and in 1907 became minister for trade and customs in the labor government of John Christian Watson. He was elected leader of the parliamentary ALP in 1904 and served three terms as prime minister and treasurer (1908-9, 1910-13 and 1914-15).

At the April 1910 election, the ALP won a majority in both houses of the federal parliament, which enabled Fisher's

administration to introduce many important reforms, including a graduated land tax (1910), a federal government-owned bank (the Commonwealth Bank) (1911), and a maternity allowance (1912). His administration also sought (unsuccessfully) through referenda to give the federal government the power to make laws with respect to monopolies (1911), trade and commerce and corporations (1913), trusts, and the nationalization (q.v.) of monopolies (1913). Fisher retired from politics in October 1915 in favor of William Morris Hughes. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, William Morris Hughes, John Christian Watson)

FLAGS Following its use by the Paris Commune (q.v.), the red flag was the flag of socialism from the 1870s. Children carried red flags to socialist Sunday schools (q.v.) in Britain in the years leading up to 1914. This custom was continued by the communists after the success of the Bolshevik coup in Russia in 1917. To distinguish themselves from the communists, the Spanish anarcho-syndicalists adopted a black and red flag divided diagonally; the red component was maintained as a gesture of international solidarity. Later the anarchists (q.v.) used the black flag. A red flag was used by the British Labour Party (q.v.) as its emblem until 1986 when it was replaced by a red rose with a long stem. (*See also* Anarcho-Syndicalism)

FOURIER, FRANÇOIS-MARIE-CHARLES (1772-1837) Charles Fourier was one of the leading theorists of utopian socialism (q.v.). The son of a tradesman, he was born at Besançon, which was also the birthplace of Saint-Simon (q.v.). He was an unsuccessful commercial clerk and then a clerk at Lyon. In 1812 he inherited his mother's estate, which enabled him to devote himself to full-time writing. Fourier's thought derived from Newtonian physics as well as from criticisms of contemporary capitalist society. He wrote *Théorie des quatre mouvements et des destinées générales* in 1808 (translated in English in 1857 as *The Social Destiny of Man; or, Theory of the Four Movements*) and *Le Nouveau Monde industriel* (The New Industrial World) in 1829. He envisaged a harmonious society based on cooperative communities that he called *phalanstères*, (phalanxes). Their purpose was to ensure equitable distribution of economic rewards and to lower wastage. He was one of the earliest proponents of profit sharing. Fourier's ideas were

primarily aimed at agriculture (q.v.), not manufacturing, which was only a small part of the French labor force. His ideas attracted support and phalanx-style settlements were set up both in France and the United States. At least 40 phalanxes were established in the United States, one of which, the North American Phalanx at Red Bank, New Jersey, survived in a much modified form until the late 1930s. (*See also* Communes, Utopian Socialism)

FRANCHISE (*See* Suffrage)

FRANKFURT DECLARATION The Frankfurt Declaration was the general name for the *Aims and Tasks of Democratic Socialism*, which was a statement of the fundamental principles of democratic socialism issued by the Socialist International at its inaugural congress in Frankfurt, Germany, on July 3, 1951. Set in the context of the Cold War, the declaration was intended to place as much distance as possible between social democracy and communism (q.v.). The declaration began by condemning capitalism (q.v.) for placing the "rights of ownership before the rights of man," for its economic inequality, and for its support of imperialism (q.v.) and fascism.

The main points of the declaration were that although socialism was an international movement, it was a plural one that did not demand uniformity of approach; there could be no socialism without the freedom of democracy; the economic goals of socialism were full employment, the welfare state (q.v.), rising living standards, and a fairer distribution of income and wealth (q.v.); nationalization (q.v.) was one way of achieving public ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange, but not necessarily the only way, and institutions like the cooperative movement (q.v.) could play their part in replacing the private profit motive of capitalism with the public interest of socialism; labor unions (q.v.) were affirmed as a necessary part of a democratic society; economic and social planning did not necessarily have to assume a centralized form and might be decentralized; there are other ways, apart from money, of rewarding individuals for their labor; all forms of discrimination, whether legal, political or economic, must be abolished regarding women (q.v.), races, regions, and any other social groups; any form of colonialism or imperialism (q.v.) is rejected; war (q.v.) is the largely the outcome of struggle for

freedom. (*See also* Godesberg Program, Liberalism, Socialist International)

FRASER, PETER (1884-1950) New Zealand Labour Party (NZLP) prime minister from 1940 to 1949, Fraser was born in Rosshire, Scotland. His father was a member of the Liberal Party, which was then the political avenue for British working-class activists. Fraser joined the Independent Labour Party (q.v.) in London in 1908. He emigrated to New Zealand in 1910 and worked as a longshoreman in Auckland and edited a socialist newspaper, *The Worker*. He opposed conscription during World War I and served a jail term. In 1918 he was elected to the House of Representatives for the NZLP. He became deputy leader of the NZLP in 1934. After the party's victory in the national election of 1935, he was made minister of education, health, and marine, a position he held until April 1940 when he was elected prime minister after the death of Michael Savage (q.v.). As prime minister, he devoted himself to the mobilization of New Zealand to the Allied war effort. After World War II, he continued to build the welfare state (q.v.) in New Zealand. He ceased to be prime minister in December 1949 because of ill health. (*See also* New Zealand Labour Party)

FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY Although France was one of the cradles of European socialist thought and one of the main centers of left-wing activity generally, the level of electoral support socialism attracted and its actual successes have been historically low compared to the United Kingdom and Germany. The reasons for this contrast lie in the peculiarities of France's political and economic development. Industrialization and urbanization, the two preconditions of socialism, were much less in evidence in France than they were in either the United Kingdom or Germany. Agriculture (q.v.) and small communities retained their importance until the middle of the twentieth century. As late as 1946, 36 percent of the French labor force worked in agriculture and 47 percent of the people lived in rural communities. Industrialization in France was characterized by small-scale industries, and industrial growth before 1920 was inhibited by the large amount of capital invested in other countries, particularly the Russian empire.

Anti-clericalism was another distinguishing feature of French society. After the French Revolution of 1789 there was a general

separation between Catholicism and liberalism (q.v.), with the Catholic Church becoming identified with the forces of privilege and conservatism. Thus those who wanted to change society were, by that fact, defined as anti-Catholic. Similarly, sincere Catholics could not be part of the left wing. This made it extremely difficult for socialist parties to win over practicing Catholics. In 1956, 28 percent of the French working class (q.v.) were practicing Catholics and the socialist vote in areas with high active Catholic populations was low before the 1970s. French radical politics also had a greater tendency towards factionalism than was apparent in the United Kingdom and Germany. This factionalism was widely seen as a weakness by socialists outside France, especially by the well-organized Germans.

In April 1905, at the urging of the Second International (q.v.), two of the leading socialist parties in France—the Possibilists and the followers of Jules Guesde (q.v.)—were united under Jean Jaurès (q.v.) to form the *Parti Socialiste (Section française de l'Internationale ouvrière*) (SFIO) (Socialist Party) (French Section of the Workers' International), although these two very different parties continued to maintain separate organizations. Electoral support for the Socialist Party rose from 10 percent in 1906 to 17 percent in 1914 and to 21 percent in 1919. During World War I, three socialist deputies, Jules Guesde, Marcel Sembat, and Albert Thomas (who became the first director of the International Labour Organization in 1919), served in the government between 1914 and 1917 so as to preserve national unity.

But in 1920 the SFIO was badly damaged when it split into rival communist and socialist parties. Between 1920 and 1921 the membership of the SFIO fell from 179,800 to 50,400. The strength of the Communist Party was such that it split the left-wing working-class vote and prevented the SFIO from winning government in its own right. Despite being a reformist socialist party, it was forced to sound more radical than it really was or it would have been denounced by the communists. In the early 1930s mutual concern about the threat of fascism drew socialists and communists closer together. In February 1934 the two parties held antifascist demonstrations and in July 1934 they signed a pact creating the Popular Front (q.v.). In the national elections in May 1936 the Popular Front won and formed a government under Léon Blum. At the election, the SFIO attracted 21 percent of the vote and the

Communists 15 percent. The Blum government was responsible for introducing the modern framework for collective bargaining in France (1936) and attempted to make progressive reforms in France's overseas colonies. The Popular Front government lasted until April 1938. After the German conquest of France in June 1940, the SFIO was outlawed. Blum and other leaders were tried. Others were executed or sent to concentration camps. Socialists and communists worked together in organizing resistance to German rule from June 1941.

After 1947 the FSIO faced a resurgent Communist Party (*Parti communiste français*) that had substantial support among the working-class electorate and controlled the largest national trade union federation, the *Confédération Générale du Travail*. In the 1945 elections, the communists attracted more votes (26 percent) than the socialists (25 percent) and maintained this share of the vote until 1956.

Between 1946 and 1973, the FSIO entered a period of long-term decline and disunity. Between 1946 and 1962 its share of the national vote fell from 21 to 13 percent. Over the same period the number of party members fell from 355,000 to 91,000. In 1970 it reached its lowest point since 1945–71,000. This drop also affected the social composition of the membership. In 1951 44 percent of the 116,000 members were employed in blue-collar occupations, but by 1979 only 23 percent of its members worked in blue-collar jobs.

Relations between the socialists and the communists deteriorated after World War II under the impact the Cold War. In 1945 the SFIO declined the communists' offer of a political merger (August) and their proposal to form a government (October). The Socialists participated in tripartite governments between April 1944 and May 1947. In 1947 the communists were expelled from the government, and in December the socialist unions left the communist-led national federation and established their own federation (*Force Ouvrière*). In July 1951 the Socialists left the government. In August 1954 the Socialist deputies divided over the European Defense Community. In September 1958 the SFIO split over a new constitution and the participation of Guy Mollet, the general secretary of the party, in de Gaulle's government in 1958-59 with dissidents forming the *Parti Socialiste Autonome* (Automomous Socialist Party) which was renamed the *Parti Socialiste Unifié* (United Socialist Party) in 1960. The SFIO

continued to decline during the 1960s.

In January 1968 Guy Mollet issued a call for a new socialist party, a call that was taken up in December 1968 when a new party was formed, the *Parti socialiste* (PS) (Socialist Party), from the merger of the SFIO, the *Convention des Institutions Républicaines* led by François Mitterrand (q.v.) and other left-wing groups. Mitterrand, who became its secretary in 1971, brought together a diversity of socialist and noncommunist groups and worked to make the PS a party of government. In March 1972 the PS issued a new program that was radical in intention but without Marxist language. By 1976 the PS had taken the lead from the Communist Party in national elections.

In 1981 the PS won power in its own right for the first time. Mitterrand was elected president on the second ballot in May, and in June 1981 the PS won a large majority in the parliamentary elections which it retained until March 1986. The PS government continued the Gaullist tradition of the president's determining general policy with the prime minister and other ministers carrying it out. The government in this period was headed by Pierre Mauroy (1928-) from May 1981 to July 1984 and by Laurent Fabius (1946-) from July 1984 to March 1986. The PS inherited a poorly performing economy in 1981 and sought to stimulate it and reduce unemployment (q.v.) by higher government expenditure. It introduced a wealth (q.v.) tax and began a nationalization (q.v.) program in 1982. It also reduced the working week, lowered the retirement age, lengthened holiday entitlements, and improved social welfare benefits. These policies ran counter to international economic trends and economic orthodoxy. Inflation continued to be higher than Germany's, and France's general economic performance fell, which was reflected in the deterioration of its balance of payments. In March 1984 there was a reversal of economic policy; government spending was reduced and the government was forced to pay greater attention to international economic pressures. In March 1986 the PS lost its majority in the national assembly elections, although it continued to be the largest single party. A conservative government under Jacques Chirac ruled from 1986 to 1988. Although the PS lost power in its own right in 1986, Mitterrand was able to use his position as president to force compromises on Chirac's policies.

Mitterrand was returned as president in May 1988, and in June 1988 the PS made sufficient gains for it to lead a minority government under Michel Rocard (1930-). But the party's support was eroded by continuing high unemployment and the generally mediocre performance of the French economy. Rocard resigned in May 1991 and was replaced by Edith Cresson (1934-), who became France's first woman prime minister. She was replaced in April 1992 by Pierre Eugéne Bérégevoy (1925-), a close associate of Mitterrand, after the PS received only 18.3 percent of the vote in regional elections (compared to 29.9 percent in 1986). Bérégevoy remained prime minister until March 1993 when the PS received only 20 percent of the vote in the national elections, and a conservative administration under Edouard Balladhur took power. Although Mitterrand was again able to use his position as president to modify conservative policies, his ability to do so was diminished by the unpopularity of the previous socialist administrations. Even so, in the presidential elections of April 1995 the PS candidate, Lionel Robert Jospin, who replaced Mitterrand as first secretary of the party in 1981, attracted 23.3 percent of the vote, the highest for any candidate and although he lost to Chirac on the second round of voting by 52.6 to 47.4 percent, his margin of defeat was much less than had been expected. Persistently high levels of unemployment (q.v.) and voter dissatisfaction with the conservative economic policies, enabled the Socialist Party under Jospin to win government in the national elections in May-June 1997. (*See also* Vincent Auriol, Léon Blum, Jules Guesde, Lionel Robert Jospin, Guy Alcide Mollet, François Mitterrand, Paris Commune, Popular Front, Possibilists; Table 17 and 27, Statistical Appendix)

FRIENDLY SOCIÉTIES Friendly societies are voluntary associations originally designed to provide members with money in case of unemployment, illness, incapacity, or death. Before the twentieth century, they were the main source of social security for the working class. Prussian miners are known to have formed thrift and friendly societies as early as the sixteenth century. The first friendly societies in France and Britain began in the seventeenth century. In Britain the first friendly (or mutual benefit) societies were formed by sailors who contributed to a common "sea chest." Friendly societies of this kind were formed in Scotland (Bo'ness in 1634 and at St. Andrews in 1643). From the late seventeenth century, other employees began

to form friendly societies. They grew out of the trade societies and clubs formed by journeymen, often in taverns and public houses, which catered to the needs of traveling artisans for accommodation and work. They were the ancestors of labor unions (q.v.) in many parts of Western Europe and enjoyed steady growth after 1760.

In 1793 genuine friendly societies received legal protection in England provided they could pass inspection by the justices of the peace to prove that they were not really trade unions; in 1801 there about 7,200 friendly societies with a total membership of 648,000. Because they required regular contributions, friendly societies attracted those in better-paid employment with relatively high job security. By 1815 the membership of friendly societies in England had risen to 925,400. Over the next 60 years the societies enjoyed substantial growth. In 1872 a parliamentary committee found that the membership of friendly societies making official returns was almost 1.9 million. But the true figure was about 4 million members spread among 32,000 societies with a further 4 million having potential access to their benefits. After 1850 some of the better-off labor unions, notably the Amalgamated Society of Engineers, also provided similar kinds of benefits to those provided by friendly societies, but these were exceptions. In Italy, friendly societies developed from the 1830s and they held their first inter-regional meeting in 1853. (*See also* Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party, Cooperative Movement, Labor Unions)

FULL EMPLOYMENT (*See* Unemployment)

G

GEORGE, HENRY (1839-1897) American journalist and single-tax advocate, George was an influential figure in late nineteenth-century labor in English-speaking countries. Born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, he eventually joined the staff of the *San Francisco Times* in 1866 after a variety of failed business ventures. In his *Progress and Poverty*, published in 1879, he promoted a single capital tax on land as the means to eliminate poverty. A popularizer rather than an original thinker, George promoted his ideas through lecture tours to England and Australia. Although his ideas attracted support from the urban working class, they failed to be implemented. During his career, George ran for public office a

number of times unsuccessfully; for example, in 1884 he ran for mayor of New York City with union backing. George was opposed to socialism. He was also opposed to protectionism, a stand that alienated most of the leaders of organized labor in the 1890s. Ironically, George was important in the history of socialism because he stimulated widespread debate about social reform. For example, George Bernard Shaw (q.v.) was partly inspired to become a socialist after attending a lecture George gave in 1882. George's other main works were *Social Problems* (1882) and *The Condition of Labor* (1891). (*See also* Edward Bellamy)

GERHARDSEN, EINAR HENRY (1897-1987) Norwegian social democratic leader, Gerhardsen was born in Olso and began work as a road repairer in 1914. In 1919 he became head of the union which represented road repairers. He became secretary of the Oslo branch of the Norwegian Labor Party (NLP) in 1925 and was elected to Oslo town council in 1932. In 1935 he became party secretary. In 1940 he became mayor of Oslo, but was forced from office after the Nazi invasion. He joined the Resistance and was arrested by the Gestapo in 1941. He was imprisoned in Sachsenhausen concentration camp until 1944. He was returned to Olso in 1945 and only released with the Nazi capitulation in May 1945. As mayor of Oslo, he became leader of the NLP in 1945. He formed a coalition government which lasted from November 1945 to November 1951 and introduced important social welfare programs. He also approved of Norway joining the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in 1949. He held office from January 1955 to August 1963 and from August 1963 to September 1965. (*See also* Norwegian Labor Party)

GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (GSDP) From its formation in 1875 until 1933 the German Social Democratic Party was the largest and best-organized socialist party in Western Europe. As such, it provided a model for similar parties in Belgium, Austria, and Switzerland. In 1891 it adopted the Marxist-influenced Erfurt Program, which remained its official program until 1921. Despite its radical posture, the GSDP was essentially a moderate organization; in practice, but not in theory, it followed revisionism. Denied access to real political power before 1918, it concentrated its efforts on building up supporting social institutions, even to extent of creating what amounted to an alternative society. For example, by

1893 the GSDP published 31 daily newspapers, 41 weekly and semi-weekly newspapers, one scientific review, one family magazine, two humorous publications and 55 trade journals.

The executive of the GSDP worked to maintain the unity of the competing groups within its ranks. Before 1914 the GSPD refused to form coalitions with other political parties or to vote for any budget of a nonsocialist government. It expected to gain power by constitutional means, but never developed policies designed to attract support from the important agricultural sector whose share of the labor force was 37 percent in 1907, and had only fallen to 29 percent in 1933. The radical-sounding theory of the GSDP, despite its moderate electorate practice, made it unattractive to land-owning peasants and landless agricultural wage-earners. It was also difficult for the GSDP to win support in states such as Prussia, where there was no secret voting before 1914.

With the lifting of Bismarck's repressive Antisocialist Law (q.v.) in 1890, the GSPD made impressive growth in membership and elections. Between 1905 and 1913 the membership of the GSDP rose from 400,000 to 983,000. At the 1912 national election, the GSPD attracted 35 percent of the vote, compared to 23 percent in 1893. These results made the GSPD the dominant party of its kind in continental Europe, providing a direct model for Austria and Switzerland. It was one of leading parties of its kind in the world; in terms of membership only the United Kingdom was higher (because of its reliance on the trade union as its institutional base).

World War I created many tensions for the GSDP. It came to support the war, although not as strongly as the trade union movement. Despite opposition to war (q.v.), there was widespread fear of czarist Russia within Germany. In 1917 antiwar elements, many of whom had been expelled from the GSDP, met at Gotha and formed the Independent Social Democratic Party (*Unabhängige Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands*). In December 1918 Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht founded Spartacists, the forerunner of the German Communist Party, which later competed strongly with the GSDP for the working-class vote.

The German military failures on the Western Front in August 1918 doomed the imperial government, which faced widespread discontent with the war. In October 1918 several members of the GSDP joined the cabinet of Prince Max of Baden, but this conciliatory gesture was swept aside by events. On November 9,

1918, Philipp Scheidemann proclaimed a provisional republican government to preempt Liebknecht who was said to be about to proclaim a Soviet-style revolutionary government. Despite disruptions, elections were held in February 1920 and the GSDP had its first experience of political power when, with the support of other parties, Friedrich Ebert was made president and Scheidemann became the first chancellor. The new government faced immense economic and political problems. The war was brought to an end by the acceptance of the Versailles Treaty by Scheidemann's GSDP successor, Gustav Bauer, and revolts from the left (the Spartacists and the Bavarian soviet republic) and right were suppressed between 1919 and 1923. Germany was accepted back into the family of nations, but at the high price of the continuance of right-wing power structures based on the military and heavy industry which never accepted the legitimacy of the democratic government.

In July 1919 the largest trade union federation announced its political neutrality, but after the Independent Social Democratic Party rejoined the GSDP in 1922, it gave the party its support from 1924 to 1932. The GSDP was returned to power in 1928 under Hermann Müller, but his government was powerless once the Depression began. He was forced to resign in March 1930.

At the state level, the record of the GSDP as a political force was also mixed. On the evening of November 7-8, 1918 Kurt Eisener (1867-1919), a member of the Independent Social Democratic Party, deposed the monarchy in Bavaria and proclaimed a republic. The Independent party fared poorly in the ensuing elections in January 1919 and Eisener was assassinated a month later. A moderate GSDP government led by Johannes Hoffman held power until March 1920. In 1923 the radical social democrat Erich Zeigner formed a government in Saxony in coalition with the communists, but this government was deposed by the national government of Gustav Stresemann in October 1923. The GSDP was a partner in coalition governments in Saxony until 1929. The main political success achieved by the GSDP occurred in Prussia, where the party formed the main party of government from 1918 until July 30, 1932 when it was ousted by the national government under Franz von Pappen . Its main leader in Prussia in this period was Otto Braun (1872-1955).

The membership of the GSPD changed markedly between 1905-6 and 1930. First, the proportion of nonworking-class

members rose from about 10 percent to 24 percent. Second, in the 1920s the Communist Party seems to have more successful than the GSPD in gaining the allegiance of the lesser-skilled working class. In 1930 the GSDP had 1,037,400 members, an impressive result, but one which disguised a profound maldistribution in the social base of its support; of the total membership, 78 percent were manual or blue-collar employees and virtually none came from the agricultural sector of the labor force, which employed 29 percent of Germans in 1933. In 1933 the GSDP was forcibly dissolved by the Nazis and many of its leaders were arrested and sent to Dachau concentration camp. The executive was set up again in Prague in June 1933, then Paris in 1937 and finally London in 1940. By a cruel twist of fate, the large cities of western Germany and the Ruhr, which were the backbone of support for the GSDP both before and after 1945, suffered the greatest devastation from Allied bombing during World War II.

The GSDP was reconstituted in the Allied zone of occupation in August 1945 under the leadership of Kurt Schumacher, based on those who had survived the horrors of the Nazi period. In the Soviet zone of occupation the GSDP was forced to merge with the Communist Party on April 21, 1946; in the previous seven months, 20,000 members of the party had been arrested by the Soviet secret police for "discussions." The merger was the model for the forced mergers of social democrats and communist parties in Czechoslovakia, Hungary , Poland, and Romania in 1948.

In West Germany, the GSDP had no organic connection with the trade union movement, unlike the British Labour Party (q.v.). After 1945, the main trade union federation (Deutscher Gewerkschaftsbund or DGD) was officially politically neutral, but actively supported the GSDP in 1953 and 1972. Although the links between the DGB and the GSDP are unofficial, they are important in exerting a conservative influence on the GSDP.

In 1956 the Communist Party was banned in Germany, thereby removing an electoral competitor to the GSDP. But the left did not go away. They waged campaigns within GSDP during the 1960s and 1970s. The GSDP also faced competition from the environmental party, the Greens. In November 1959 the GSPD adopted a new platform of policies in its Godesberg Program, dropping its Marxist language and seeking to broaden its electoral appeal. The GSDP was a participant in government from 1966 to October 1982. Between

1960 and 1990, the GSDP was in government from four to seven states (Länder) at any one time.

From 1983 to 1994 the GSDP's share of the national vote fell from 43 to 32 percent and it has remained in opposition; state elections results since 1992 have confirmed a general loss of support for the GSDP. The idea of an alliance with the Greens has been raised but has so far not been supported by a majority of the party. A social democratic party was revived in the former East Germany in October 1989, but since the reunification of Germany in 1989, the GSDP has faced unexpectedly strong electoral competition from the Party of Democratic Socialism, the former communist party of East Germany. For example, in the state elections during 1994 the GSDP won only one of the five contests in the states which made up the former East Germany—the state of Brandenburg, where it attracted 54.1 percent of the vote.

In November 1996, a congress of the GSDP at Mannheim voted by 321 to 190 votes to replace Rudolf Sharing as party leader with Oskar Lafontaine (1943-). (*See also* Gustav Adolf Bauer, August Bebel, Eduard Bernstein, Willy Brandt, Friedrich Ebert, Erfurt Program, Karl Johann Kautsky, Godesberg Program, Gotha Program, Ferdinand Lassalle, Karl Liebknecht, Whilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Hermann Müller, Helmut Heinrich Waldemar Schmidt, Revisionism, Kurt Schumacher, Philipp Scheidemann, Clara Jospehine Zetlin; Table 16, Statistical Appendix)

GODESBERG PROGRAM The Godesberg Program was the statement of values and policies adopted by the German Social Democratic Party at its conference at Godesberg in November 1959. The program broke with the Marxist tradition begun with the Erfurt Program in 1891. It identified the fundamental values of democratic socialism as (1) allowing every individual to develop freely and, as a responsible member of the community, to take part in the political, economic, and cultural life of mankind and (2) fighting for democracy and freedom of speech and against all forms of dictatorship. It claimed that the roots of democratic socialism in Europe were rooted in Christian ethics, humanism, and classical philosophy. A similar retreat from Marxism took place in the Austrian Socialist Party (q.v.) in 1958 and in the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.) in 1960. The Godesberg Program

supported the reunification of Germany, affirmed the need for national defense, condemned the manufacture or use of nuclear weapons by the German Republic, and supported international cooperation to preserve peace. On the economy, the program warned of the dangers of monopolies and the need to defend consumers and free collective bargaining by unions and employers' organizations. The program upheld the right to social security and the equality of women (q.v.) in all respects. It declared that socialism was "no substitute for religion" and upheld the autonomy of the churches. On education (q.v.), the program stressed the importance of developing the full capacities of the individual. (*See also* Willy Brandt, German Social Democratic Party)

GONZÁLEZ, FELIPE (1942-) A Spanish socialist politician, Felipe González (Márquez) was born in Seville and graduated from the Catholic University of Louvain, Belgium, in law. He joined the Spanish socialist youth in 1962 and became a full member of the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (SSWP) (q.v.) in 1964. In 1966 he began a law practice to assist employees with work-related accident cases. He entered the national executive of the SSWP in 1969 and became first secretary of the party in 1974. During 1979 González defeated the doctrinaire Marxists within the SSWP and worked to made the party more like a social democratic party. In December 1982 he became Spain's first socialist prime minister since the Spanish Civil War (q.v.) and held the post until his defeat in March 1996. As the leader of a number of coalition administrations, his term was notable for the expansion of the welfare state (q.v.), the reduction of the importance of state enterprises in the economy, and Spain's entry into the North Atlantic Treaty Organization despite long-standing opposition within the SSWP. In 1982 he became vice-president of the Socialist International (q.v.). (*See also* Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)

GOTHA PROGRAM The Gotha Program was a statement of the ideologies and policies under which the General Association of German Workers (Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein) founded by Ferdinand Lassalle (q.v.) in 1863 (and often referred to as the Lassalleans) and the Social Democratic Workers' Party (Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei) founded by Wilhelm Liebknecht and August Bebel in 1866, agreed to merge to form the German Socialist

Workers' Party (Sozialistische Arbeiterpartei Deutschlands); it was renamed the German Social Democratic Party (Sozial Democratische Partei Deutschlands) (GSDP) in 1890. After the suppression of the Paris Commune (q.v.) in 1871, Bismarck turned against any form of socialism thereby making it imperative for the two rival parties to combine forces. Moves for the merger were begun by the German Workers' Party in October 1874 and the merger was achieved at the "Unity Conference" held at the town of Gotha in 1875. The Gotha Program was designed to accommodate the non-Marxist German Workers' Party and the Marxist Social Democratic Party. It reflected the political realities of the time and made the compromises necessary to ensure the merger worked. At the same time, it reflected positions which were agreed to on both sides; for example, both sides wanted to achieve a "free state and socialist society" by legal means. It was not, as Marx claimed, an agreement to get unity at any price. At the time of the merger, the Lassallean Party had 15,322 members and the Social Democratic Workers' Party had 9,121 members.

The specific objectives of the Gotha program were the abolition of the wage system; the elimination of all forms of exploitation, including social and political inequality; the establishment of a system of producers' cooperatives (q.v.) with state assistance covering industry and agriculture that would form the basis of the socialist organization of labor in the future; free, compulsory elementary education (q.v.); a "normal" (the duration was unspecified) working day; the restriction of female labor and the prohibition of child labor; the state supervision of factories, workshops, and domestic service; the regulation of prison labor; and an effective employers' liability law. Concessions had to be made to the Lassalleans because they were originally the numerically greater group. Because of the Anti-Socialist Law (q.v.), it was not possible to hold congresses in Germany to revise the Gotha Program. Thus it remained the official policy of the GSDP until 1891 when it was replaced by the Erfurt Program (q.v.).

Despite its success, the Gotha Program is perversely better known as the target for Marx's bad-tempered criticisms of its Lassallean ideas, especially the assertion that labor was the source of all wealth, that the emancipation of labor was the work of the working class, that other classes were reactionary to that struggle and that the nation-state was the framework through which the

working class could achieve its freedom. Originally written as marginal notes in May 1875 to a draft version of the program (which was largely adopted in that form), his remarks were not published at the time because the unity negotiations were too far advanced. Both Marx and Engels thought that the Gotha Program made too many concessions to the German Workers' Party. Engels published Marx's criticisms in 1891; it was usually referred to later as the *Critique of the Gotha Programme*. The importance of this work for Marxist theory was that it contained Marx's prediction that in the transformation from a capitalist to a communist society, there would be a period of political transition in which the state would be the "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat," an idea later amplified by Lenin (q.v.). (*See also* August Bebel, Erfurt Program, Ferdinand Lassalle, German Social Democrat Party, Wilhelm Liebknecht)

GRÖNLUND, LAURENCE (1846-1899) Born and educated in Denmark, Grönlund emigrated to the United States in 1867 where he became a lawyer and a writer in the tradition of utopian socialism (q.v.). A popularizer of European socialism rather than an original thinker, his works had wide appeal and included *Dialogue on the Coming Revolution* (1880), *Our Destiny* (1891), *The New Economy* (1898), and *The Cooperative Commonwealth* (1884)–his best known work. He was a member of the executive of the Socialist Labor Party of America (q.v.) in 1888. (*See also* Utopian Socialism)

GUESDE, JULES (1845-1922) Jules Guesde was the pseudonym of Mathiew Basile, one of the leading figures in French socialism and one of its best organizers in the 1870s and 1880s. Born in Paris into a middle-class family that was not well-off, he nonetheless received a good education and became a journalist. In the 1860s he was associated with the anarchists of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). He was jailed for writing in support of the Paris Commune (q.v.) and spent the next five years in Switzerland and Italy. In November 1877 he founded *L'Égalité* (Equality), one of the earliest socialist journals in France with the help of Wilhelm Liebknecht (q.v.). In 1878 he was jailed again for defying a government ban on holding an international labor conference. In 1879 he emerged as the dominant personality at the national trade union conference in Marseilles, which agreed to set itself up as a

socialist political party, the *Fédération des Ouvriers Socialistes de France* (Federation of Socialist Workers of France). Guesde drew up a program for the party and visited Marx in London who approved it. Guesde wanted the party to be centralized, based on the example of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) with the trade unions occupying a subordinate role in the struggle for a socialist society.

These ideas did not square well with the realities of either its trade unions or French socialism. Although trade unions in France had only been legalized in 1884, they still predated the socialists as organizations and were unwilling to be controlled by them, preferring their independence even though they usually agreed with socialist doctrines. French socialism itself gloried in its individuality in the nineteenth century with factions forming around dominant individuals like Guesde himself. Guesde was influential in the trade unions despite his opposition to syndicalism at conferences of the Second International (qq.v.). His ideas were those of an orthodox Marxist of the 1880s. He was not against using parliamentary means to achieve reforms, but believed that capitalism could only be overthrown by revolution. In 1882 the Possibilists (q.v.) broke away, and he reformed his party as the *Parti Ouvrier Français* (French Workers' Party), which formed a federation with the followers of the insurrectionist Auguste Blanqui (1805-1881) in about 1899 called the *Parti Socialiste de France* (Socialist Party of France). In 1905 this group became part of the united French Socialist Party. Guesde was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1893. Ironically, for an opponent of the participation of Alexandre Millerand in government and revisionism (qq.v.), he joined the French coalition government as minister without portfolio at the outbreak of World War I in 1914, a position he held until 1915. (*See also* French Socialist Party, Possibilists)

GUILD SOCIALISM Guild socialism was an important variety of British socialism that flourished between 1912 and the early 1920s. Whereas other forms of socialism viewed the state as something to be captured and used to implement socialism, or, following anarchism (q.v.) abolished altogether, guild socialism advocated a third course, namely, the decentralizing of the political power of the state through the creation of democratically-run guilds or communes (q.v.) in each industry. The origins of guild socialism were mixed. In

part it was influenced by French syndicalism and the Industrial Workers of the World (qq.v.), but it owed more to British thinkers such as John Ruskin, Thomas Carlyle, and William Morris (q.v.), who condemned the Industrial Revolution (q.v.) and its works on aesthetic grounds and looked back romantically to the Middle Ages when independent craftsmen, organized in guilds, were alleged to be able to take pride in the products of their labor. Guild socialism began with the guilds' restoration movement in 1906 and entered into British socialist debate in 1912 following articles by A. R. Orage and S. G. Hobson. When G. D. H. Cole, a Fellow of Oxford University, lent his support from 1913 onwards, guild socialism began to molded into an effective force. Although Cole failed to persuade the Fabian Society to adopt guild socialism, he quickly became its ablest and most persuasive publicist. Like the American Knights of Labor, guild socialism wanted to abolish the wage system. It sought to create a system of self-government in all parts of the economy by means of national guilds working in cooperation with the state. The National Guilds' League was formed in 1915. In 1920 the reference to the state was omitted from the League's platform. Guild socialism saw labor unions rather than parliament as the basis for building the guild state. Although never a mass membership movement—the League only had about 500 members mainly in and around London in 1917—it nevertheless exerted considerable influence in Britain and elsewhere, largely through Cole's writings. Defunct as a movement by 1931, guild socialism was important for drawing attention to the need for democratic participation in the management of the productive side of the economy. It exerted influence on Swedish socialist thought through Ernst Wigforss (q.v.). Many of the ideas of guild socialism were revived by advocates of industrial democracy in the 1970s. (*See also* George Douglas Howard Cole, Fernand Léonce Emile Pelloutier)

GUTERRES, ANTÓNIO (1949-) Guterres became leader of the Portuguese Socialist Party (PSP) in 1991. Born into a lower-middle-class family in the rural Fundão region, he was educated at Lisbon University and qualified as an electrical engineer. He began his parliamentary career in the provisional government of Mário Soares (q.v.) in 1974 as a minister without portfolio. Guterres was unusual for being a practicing Catholic in a party noted for its secularism.

Originally on the left of the party, he became a moderate during the 1980s and supported free-market economics, privatization and economic integration with the rest of Europe. After the PSP's victory in the national elections of October 1995, when it won 44 percent of the vote, he was asked to form a government. (*See also* Portuguese Socialist Party, Mário Soares)

H

HANSEN, HANS CHRISTIAN SVANE (1906-1960) Danish social democratic politician, Hansen was born in Arhus. He became secretary of the youth (q.v.) organization of the Danish Social Democratic Party in 1929 and its chairman in 1933. He was elected to parliament in 1936 and was party secretary during the German occupation in World War II when he also published a Resistance newspaper. He was minister for finance from 1945 to 1950 (a post he used to facilitate Denmark's economic recovery), minister of foreign affairs from 1953 to 1955, and prime minister from 1955 to his death. (*See also* Danish Social Democratic Party, Hans Christian Hedtoft-Hansen)

HANSSON, PER ALBIN (1885-1946) Swedish social democratic leader, Hansson was born in Scania province and joined the staff of newspaper of the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party in the 1900s. He was elected to parliament in 1918. He served in the cabinet to Branting as minister for war and national defense, but resigned in 1926 because of his antimilitarist views. He became leader of the party in 1936 and prime minister in September 1936, a post he held until his untimely death in October 1946. His administration was notable for the strict maintenance of Sweden's neutrality during World War II and the development of the welfare state (q.v.). (*See also* Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party)

HARDIE, JAMES KEIR (1856-1915) Born to unmarried parents in a poor rural environment near Holytown, Scotland, Hardie began his working life at the age of seven. He worked in coal mines in Lanarkshire from the age of ten until he was twenty-two. During the late 1870s he actively agitated for better pay and conditions for coal miners, activities that cost him and his two brothers their jobs. Hardie obtained some income by working as a journalist for the *Glasgow Weekly Mail*, but did much unpaid work as an organizer

for the coal miners. He became corresponding secretary for the Hamilton miners in 1879, led an unsuccessful strike by Lanarkshire miners in 1880, and helped to form a union of coal miners for all of Scotland. By the mid-1880s, if not earlier, Hardie became a committed socialist who recognized the importance of labor representation in parliament. He advocated the nationalization (q.v.) of the coal mines as early as 1887. In 1888 he failed to get elected to a vacant seat and formed the Scottish Labour Party, which merged into the Independent Labour Party (q.v.) in 1893. Hardie's activities as a labor publicist through his newspapers, *The Miner* (1887-89) and the *Labour Leader* (1889), made him well-known and assisted his election to the House of Commons in 1892 as member for West Ham South (to 1895) for the Independent Labour Party. He scandalized parliament by making his entrance in a deerstalker hat, being preceded by a cornet player. In 1893 Hardie became chairman of the Independent Labour Party (q.v.) and held the position until 1900. He was again elected to the House of Commons as member for Merthyr Tydfil, a seat he held until his death. In 1906 he was the first leader of the British Labour Party (q.v.).

Hardie also played an active role in international organized labor from 1888. He visited the United States in 1895. After his visit in 1909 he published *India*, which exposed the destruction of native crafts by large-scale capitalism and the oppression of the peasants by moneylenders. Like other British labor leaders of his time, such as George Lansbury (q.v.), he was a total abstainer; alcohol was seen by many radical reformers as a means of oppressing the working class. He was chairman of the British section of the International Socialist bureau in 1914. He was greatly grieved by the inability of international labor to prevent World War I. (*See also* British Labour Party, Temperance)

HARRINGTON, MICHAEL (1928-1989) An American socialist organizer and author, Harrington was born in St. Louis into a middle-class Catholic family. He received a Jesuit education, but became a socialist after studying law at the University of Yale. From there, he went on to complete a master's degree in English at the University of Chicago. His social work with the poor in the 1950s provided the material for his study of poverty, *The Other America* (1962), which helped to bring into being the antipoverty programs of the Kennedy and Johnson administrations. By 1953 he had ceased to be a Catholic and had become leader of the Young People's

Socialist League (q.v.). He disagreed with Norman Thomas (q.v.) over the Korean War. Harrington, a strong anticommunist, became chairman of the Socialist Party of America (q.v.) in 1968. Although he opposed the Vietnam War, he did not support the unconditional withdrawal of American troops, a stance that cost him support among the New Left (q.v.). In October 1972 he resigned as co-chairman of the Socialist Party and went on to form the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. In the same year he became a professor of political science at Queen's College. In 1982 the committee merged with the New American Movement to form the Democratic Socialists of America (q.v.). (*See also* Democratic Socialists of America)

HAWKE, ROBERT JAMES LEE (1929-) Australian Labor Party (q.v.) prime minister from March 1983 to November 1991, Bob Hawke was born in Bordertown, South Australia. He was educated at the universities of Western Australia and Oxford, which he attended as a Rhodes scholar. In 1958 he joined the Australian Council of Trade Unions as research officer and industrial advocate and was elected its president in 1970. He held the position until 1980, when he was elected to the national parliament. In February 1983 he became leader of the federal parliamentary ALP and, with the ALP's victory at the March 1983 election, he became prime minister. Among other things, his government encouraged greater communication between unions and employers. The deterioration of the economy after 1987, particularly the continuing adverse balance of trade and sharply rising foreign debt, were major problems for his government. The recession, which afflicted the economy from September 1990 and throughout 1991, eroded Hawke's popularity in opinion polls and made it possible for his former treasurer, Paul Keating(q.v.), to successfully challenge him for the position of prime minister in December 1991; he resigned from federal parliament in February 1992. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, Paul John Keating)

HEDTOFT-HANSEN, HANS CHRISTIAN (1903-1955) Danish social democratic leader and politican, Hedtoft was born in Arhus and became a printer. He served as president of the youth (q.v.) organization of the Danish Social Democratic Party (q.v.), beginning in 1928. He used this position to become secretary of the party by 1935, when he was elected to parliament (*Folketing*). He remained

in parliament until 1940 when he resigned after the German occupation and joined the Resistance. After the war, he served as minister for labor and social affairs in a coalition government in 1945. Hans Hedtoft (as he was known from this time onward) was the prime minister of a minority social democratic government from 1947 to 1950 and served a second term as prime minister from 1953 to his death. His period in power was notable for his support for a strong defense policy and Danish membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. His defense views were shaped not just by the German occupation of Denmark but also by the communist coup in Czechoslovakia in February 1948. (*See also* Danish Social Democratic Party, Hans Christian Hansen, Jens Otto Krag)

HILLQUIT, MORRIS (1869-1933) American socialist, Hillquit was born Moses Hillkowitz in Riga, Latvia, then part of the Russian empire. He adopted the name Hillquit in 1897. His parents were assimilated Jews (q.v.). He emigrated to the United States in 1885, worked in the garment industry in New York City, helped to organize Jewish garment workers, and joined the Socialist Labor Party of America (q.v.). He qualified as a lawyer in 1893 and used his legal talents to defend employees in accident and civil liberty cases. During the 1890s he became a Marxist and a supporter of Daniel DeLeon (q.v.). He led a large dissident group within the SLP in 1899, which divided the party in two. In 1901 his group joined with the Social Democracy of America Party of Eugene V. Debs (q.v.) to form the Socialist Party of America (SPA). Hillquit's socialism was close to that Karl Kautsky (q.v.), and it also made him an opponent to syndicalism (q.v.). Between 1907 until his death he contested public office in New York unsuccessfully, but attracted significant support nonetheless. He wrote *The History of Socialism in the United States* (1903). Later attacked by communists, he denounced Leninism (q.v.). From 1920 he continued, by default, to be the leading figure in the SPA and supported Norman Thomas (q.v.). (*See also* Socialist Labor Party of America, Socialist Party of America)

HUGHES, WILLIAM MORRIS (1862-1952) Australian Labor Party (q.v.) prime minister, Hughes was born in London to Welsh-born parents. He became a schoolteacher and spent some years teaching in Wales. He emigrated to Australia in 1884, where he eventually settled in Sydney. In 1894 he entered New South Wales politics as a

Labor member and in 1901 entered federal politics. He was also one of the founders of the national union for longshoremen–the Waterside Workers' Federation. In *The Case for Labor* (1910) Hughes argued that socialism required a long evolutionary period to occur and could not be achieved quickly. He succeeded Andrew Fisher (q.v.) as prime minister in 1915 and devoted most of his administration to organizing Australia's war effort; this included leading two exceptionally bitter campaigns in support of conscription in 1916 and 1917, which split the Australian Labor Party. In 1916 he switched sides and joined the conservatives to form the Nationalist Party. At war's end in 1918, he used the size of Australia's contribution to gain a separate place for Australia at the Versailles peace conference. His efforts resulted in Australia's acquiring control of the former German territories in New Guinea. Always a polemical figure, Hughes continued as prime minister until 1923. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, Andrew Fisher)

HUNGARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (HSDP) The first signs of working-class and socialist activity in what is now Hungary were evident from 1868, when the first trade union was formed. In 1869 employers sponsored a workers' educational association that was soon converted into a socialist organization. In 1870 these two groups got together to produce the first Hungarian socialist newspaper with a German-language edition and agreed to accept the Marxist program of the German Social Democratic Workers' Party adopted at Eisenach in 1869. Universal suffrage (q.v.) and freedom of association and assembly were the early fundamental objectives of Hungarian socialists and remained so until 1918. Hungarian socialism operated under political repression. The trade unions, for example, operated ás friendly societies (q.v.) under a law of 1872.

In 1880 a new socialist party was formed, the *Magyarországi Általánon Munkáspárt* (General Workers' Party of Hungary), and adopted a program demanding political rights, free and compulsory education, the end of child labor for those children under 14, the separation of church and state, a ten-hour working day, the abolition of night work, regulation of women's labor, and improved occupational health and safety.

The economic backwardness of Hungary made it difficult for the party to attract a mass following. The party joined the Second International (q.v.) in 1889 and, with assistance from the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.), it was reorganized as the

Magyarországi Szociáldemokratia Párt (Hungarian Social Democratic Party) in December 1890. In 1905 the HSDP organized mass meetings in Budapest to agitate for universal suffrage (q.v.), but to no avail. Although party membership grew from 43,000 to 53,000 between 1910 and 1912, it achieved little. The failures of the HSDP were attributable not just to the repressive political environment in which it had to operate but also to its inability to harness rural unrest (there were widespread rural disturbances in 1896-97) and to its adherence to the idea of a unitary Magyar state, which alienated Slavs and Romanians.

In the political turmoil at the end of World War I, there was a political revolution in Hungary in October 1918 and HSDP was able to participate in a coalition government for the first time between 1918 and 1919. Béla Kun (1886-1936) who had been sent from Russia to foment a communist uprising in Hungary agreed to a merger with the HSDP. A government that he dominated took power and tried to nationalize all property. Faced with Allied attacks designed to destroy the left-wing government, Kun resigned on August 1, 1919 and a social democratic government took over, but it only lasted a few days after the Romanian army entered Budapest. This was followed by a right-wing coup organized by Admiral Horthy, who instituted a reign of terror against communists and moderate socialists alike. A period of effective fascist rule followed; in 1939 only 5 of the 323 seats in the lower house of the Hungarian parliament were occupied by members of the HSDP. Despite its troubles, the HSDP was member of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) in 1928 and to which it reported a collective membership of 138,500.

In 1948 the HSDP was forced to merge with the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party (the Communist Party). With the demise of one-party communist rule in Eastern Europe, the HSDP was reconstituted in October 1989 as the *Magyar Szocialista Párt* (Hungarian Socialist Party). In 1992 it was granted observer status by the Socialist International (q.v.) and claimed a membership of 40,000 in 1993. In the May 1994 national elections the party received 33 percent of the vote, compared to 11 percent in 1990.

HUYSMANS, CAMILE (1871-1968) Leading Belgian socialist, author, and politician, Huysmans was born at Bilsen and completed his higher education at Liège where he studied German philosophy. He went on to hold academic positions at the College Liberal of

Ypres and then at the New University of Brussels. He was attracted to socialism as a young man and wrote articles for its press. He gained his first political post in 1905 when he was elected to the city council of Brussels; in the same year he became the secretary of the international bureau of the Second International (q.v.). Although the international bureau had been established in 1900, it was Huysman's linguistic and political skills that transformed it into an effective vehicle for the dissemination and coordination of socialism. He held the post until 1922. In 1910 he was elected to the Belgian parliament. After World War I he became the chief organizer of the Belgian Workers' Party in Antwerp, served as minister for science and arts in 1925, president of the chamber of deputies in 1936, and as a prime minister of a coalition government from August 1946 to March 1947. (*See also* Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party, Émile Vandervelde)

HYNDMAN, HENRY MAYERS (1842-1921) Hyndman was an important figure in left-wing British socialism in the late nineteenth century. Born in into a wealthy family in London and educated at Trinity College at Cambridge University, he became a socialist after reading Marx's *Das Kapital* in French while sailing to the United States in 1880. In the United States he read *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George (q.v.). On his return to the United Kingdom, he contacted Marx. Engels disliked Hyndman as Marx did because Hyndman refused to acknowledge the intellectual debt he owed to Marx in his pamphlet of 1883, *Socialism Made Plain.* He wrote the pamphlet on behalf of the newly formed Democratic Federation (based on radical clubs in London), which demanded the nationalization (q.v.) of capital and land. In 1884 the federation was renamed the Social Democratic Federation, which briefly included William Morris (q.v.) as a member. Hyndman had a low opinion of labor unions (q.v.) and strikes. He had a dictatorial style of leadership and his socialism took the form of a doctrinaire Marxism (q.v.), which alienated potential supporters. He also wanted to revive Chartism (q.v.). In 1886 he was arrested and tried and acquitted for inciting riots among the unemployed in London, along with John Burns and H. H. Champion. Hyndman and his first wife, Matilda Ware, took an active interest in education (q.v.). Hyndman supported Britain's role in World War I and in 1916 formed the National Socialist Party, later renamed the Social Democratic Federation and affiliated with the British Labour Party (q.v.). As

well as writing pro-Marxist books such as *The Historical Basis of Socialism* (1883), Hyndman used his personal wealth to further the socialist cause. (*See also* British Labour Party, British Socialist Party, Social Democratic Federation)

I

ICELANDIC SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (ISDP) The ISDP was formed in 1916 as a labor party based on the trade unions. It became independent of the trade unions in 1940, but its effectiveness was weakened by the defection of its left wing to a communist group. Since 1945 the ISDP has polled about 15 percent of the vote and has participated in coalition governments in 1958-59, 1959 to 1971, and 1978-79. It has been a member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since about 1987, when it had a membership of about 5,000. In 1995 its share of the national vote fell to 11.4 percent.

IDEOLOGIES (*See* African Socialism, Anarchism, Anarcho-Syndicalism, Arab Socialism, Chartism, Christian Socialism, Communism, Economism, Fabianism, Federalism, Guild Socialism, Imperialism, Internationalism, Leninism, Liberalism, Marxism, Mutualism, Nationalism, Pacifism, Positivism, Revisionism, Policies, State Socialism, Syndicalism, Utopian Socialism, Zionism)

IMPERIALISM From the late nineteenth century, the empires of the Western European countries began to receive increasing attention from the socialist movement. In 1904 the Amsterdam conference of the Second International established a colonial bureau, but there were important divisions of opinion about what socialist policy should be about imperialism among its leadership. Imperialism was condemned outright by the British Independent Labour Party and the Social Democratic Federation (qq.v.) as a result of the passions aroused by the Boer War (1899-1902), but others disagreed. Eduard Bernstein (q.v.) supported Germany's imperialism (q.v.) on the grounds it assisted the German economy and brought benefits to the native populations. Dutch socialist leaders opposed the exploitation of imperialism, but also believed it brought benefits to indigenous peoples. In his *India* (1909), Keir Hardie exposed the destruction of native crafts by capitalist competition and the oppression of the peasantry by moneylenders.

The Belgian Workers' Party (q.v.) opposed the outrageous abuses of human rights in King Leopold II's colony of the Congo Free State (modern Zaire), but found it hard to form an alternative response. Some wanted the Congo to be placed under international supervision, an unrealistic option given the fierce competition for African lands among the European powers. Others opposed imperialism in principle, but declined to offer an alternative policy. Many opposed the proposal of Émile Vandervelde (q.v.) to transfer the Congo to the control of the Belgian parliament (which was done in 1908) on the grounds that it made Belgium a participant in imperialism. In Britain, one of the leaders of the campaign against Leopold's brutal rule in the Congo was led by Edmund Dere Morel (1873-1924) who was then a supporter of the Liberal Party, but joined the Independent Labour Party (q.v.) in 1914.

In 1940 the British Labour Party (q.v.) included an end to imperialism in its aims for peace and the rapid progression of colonies to self-government, programs it implemented after its election victory in 1945. From that time onwards, socialist and social democratic parties played a leading role in dismantling the empires of the European powers. The main exceptions were the Dutch Labor Party, which was ambivalent about independence for Indonesia (the former Dutch East Indies in 1949), and France, where the socialist ministers of the government of Guy Mollet (q.v.) (1956-57) affirmed that country's harsh rule in Algeria and the decision to send troops to the Suez canal after its nationalization by Nasser in 1956. Mollet, however, was also responsible for granting some autonomy to France's colonies south of the Sahara. (*See also* War)

INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY (ILP) The ILP was a British socialist political party formed at Bradford, England, by Keir Hardie (q.v.) in January 1893. Its purpose was to assist the election of labor candidates in local and national elections who were independent of the Liberal Party, then the only political election vehicle for candidates representing the working class in Britain. It sought the eight-hour working day, social services for the widowed and sick, work for the unemployed, and the abolition of overtime. It drew most of its support from the Midlands, Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Scotland. Party organization was loose with a large number of branches that enjoyed a high degree of autonomy. The ILP was an affiliate of the Second International (q.v.). Its socialism was nonideological, pacifist, and international. It opposed the Boer War,

World War I, and World War II. In February 1900, the ILP, along with the Fabian Society, the Social Democratic Federation (q.v.), and representatives of 41 trade unions formed the Labour Representation Committee which became the British Labour Party (q.v.) in 1906.

Before 1914 the ILP was the main source of leaders, ideas, and individual members of the Labour Party. It also provided an extensive regional presence that the Labour Party then lacked. In 1914 the ILP had 672 branches, compared to 150 local labour parties and affiliated trade union councils. Ramsay MacDonald was its leading figure before 1920. After the 1906 elections, 29 members of the Labour Party were elected to the House of Commons of whom 7 were ILP candidates and 11 were ILP members. The membership of the ILP grew during World War I from 16,000 to 35,000. In Glasgow, Scotland, it played an important role in the shop stewards' (labor union delegates) movement and organizing strikes from 1916 to 1918.

In 1922 the ILP adopted a revised constitution which declared that it sought a "Socialist Commonwealth" in which "Land and Capital are communally owned, and the process of production, distribution, and exchange are social functions." It affirmed its belief in political and economic democracy and that the interests of workers were the same regardless of race, color or creed. From this time onwards the ILP faced increasing competition for left wing support from the Labour Party, which adopted a socialization objective (q.v.) in its 1918 constitution, and from the Communist Party. The ILP entered a period of instability. Membership fluctuated, rising from between 25,000 to 30,000 in 1922, to between 55,000 and 60,000 in 1926, and then falling to 16,800 in 1932. Lacking a broad base in the trade unions (q.v.), the ILP could never hope to become a mass political party. Yet it remained strong in Glasgow, where its leading figures were David Kirkwood and James Maxton.

Growing differences between the ILP and the Labour Party led to the disaffiliation of the ILP in 1932. The process of separation actually began in 1917 when the Labour Party amended its constitution to exclude affiliated organizations with less than 50,000 members from making a direct nomination to the party's executive, a move which was directly aimed at the ILP. By 1935 the membership of the ILP had fallen to 4,392. Some of the members who left in the 1930s joined the Communist Party and others joined the fascists. In

1937 the ILP conference condemned the idea of the Popular Front (q.v.). Moves to re-affiliate with the Labour Party were pushed aside by World War II. In 1945 three ILP members were elected to the House of Commons. One, James Maxton, the party's leader died in 1946 and the remaining two joined the Labour Party. There were no ILP members elected to parliament after 1950 and no candidates were nominated after 1959. The ILP continued into the 1960s. It opposed conventional as well as nuclear weapons (q.v.), but its membership had fallen to about 300 compared to about 3,000 in 1948. (*See also* British Labour Party, Ramsay MacDonald, Pacifism; Table 13, Statistical Appendix).

INDIAN SOCIALIST PARTY The Indian Socialist Party was formed in Bombay as the Congress Socialist Party at a conference in October 1934 at which Jayaprakash Narayan played a leading role. The party wanted independence for India, full adult suffrage (q.v.), land distribution to the peasants, the elimination of civil and religious divisions, and support for cooperatives. Although very similar in ideology to the Indian Communist Party (which had formed in 1924), the two parties were enemies throughout the 1930s. The Socialist Party was banned by the British between 1942 and 1946. In 1948 the party left the Indian National Congress (which had been formed in 1885) and adopted a new constitution, making membership available to anyone who supported democratic socialism; it also changed its title to the Indian Socialist Party. In 1952 its membership was claimed to be 295,550 of whom 117,820 were individual members; a study of its Bombay membership suggested that most were middle class (q.v.) and only 29 percent were industrial workers. The party was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) between 1951 and 1953, but was only a consultative member from 1955 to 1969. In 1952 it joined with the Kijan Mazdoor Praja Party to form the Praja Socialist Party All-India. After internal dissent, the party split in 1955 over collaboration with the Indian National Congress and its appeal declined further after the congress adopted a socialization objective (q.v.) in 1957. It also suffered by the more moderate stance adopted by the Indian Communist Party. A new Socialist Party was formed in 1971, when the Praja Socialist Party and the Indian Socialist Party merged and were joined by some members of the Samyukta Socialist Party. In May 1977 the Socialist Party joined a coalition with four other parties to create the *Janata* (People) coalition and thereafter

ceased to have an independent existence. (*See also* Jayaprakash Narayan)

INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION The *Industrial Revolution* was a term coined in the early 1900s to describe a massive shift in the economy that was marked by technical innovations (in particular the invention of the steam engine), improvements in transportation, and the large-scale production of goods. Although industrial revolutions have been claimed for earlier periods and countries, the origin of the Industrial Revolution is traditionally associated with late eighteenth century England. Once developed, its features were emulated by other countries to varying degrees from the 1830s. The Industrial Revolution both reflected and fortified capitalism (q.v.) even though communist governments, particularly those of the former Soviet Union and China, used its techniques to speed up economic development in the twentieth century. The Industrial Revolution hastened the development of socialism by creating the changes necessary for it to become a mass movement. It led to a rapid increase in the number of urban wage-and-salary earners employed by large enterprises, thereby providing the basis for large-scale labor unions (q.v.) from the 1880s. The increase in the social distance between employers and employees accentuated class divisions and provided favorable conditions for the spread of socialist doctrines. (*See also* Capitalism)

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD (IWW) The IWW was the American expression of syndicalism, which was influential in international organized labor from the early 1900s until about 1920. Although the works of European theorists such as Marx and Sorel (qq.v.) were known, the IWW owed its origins to the violent labor environment of the mining industry in the western United States. The prime mover in the formation of the IWW was the radical Western Federation of Miners, a body that originated in the Butte Miners' Union established in 1878. After defeats in disputes in 1903-04, particularly at Cripple Creek, Colorado, the Western Mining Federation called a convention in Chicago to create a single organization for the working class in 1904, which led to the creation of the IWW in 1905. The convention adopted a radical platform, declaring that employers and workers had nothing in common and agreeing to build an organization which admitted all employees regardless of sex, race, or nationality, an idea dormant in American

organized labor since the demise of the Knights of Labor in the late 1880s.

By 1906 the IWW claimed 14,000 members but was able to mobilize far greater support among poorly paid and exploited workers. It campaigned for free speech in the late 1900s, which provoked vigilante violence, and conducted America's first sit-down strike at the General Electric plant at Schenectady, New York, in 1906. The IWW proved adept at mobilizing working-class discontent but not at creating lasting organizations. With the entry of the United States into World War I in 1917, the IWW, which opposed the war, came under direct attack from the federal government which raided IWW offices and arrested the bulk of the leadership. At its height, between 1919 and 1924, the membership of the IWW ranged between 58,000 and 100,000, some of whom joined the American Communist Party. The IWW was not a significant force after 1924. Although primarily an American organization, the IWW was an important force in Canada and was a focus for left-wing activity in Argentina, Australia, Mexico, New Zealand, and South Africa. (*See also* Daniel DeLeon, Syndicalism)

INHERITANCE As a mechanism for the perpetuation of inequalities of wealth (q.v.) and income, socialism regarded the principle of inheritance of property with suspicion, if not hostility. Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) called for the complete abolition of inheritance rights. But they wrote at a time when inheritance had little meaning for most of the working class because they had no property to pass on to their descendants or relatives. The Erfurt Program (1891) of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) moderated this position; it demanded instead that inheritances should be subjected to graduated tax according to the size of the inheritance and the degree of the relationship between the deceased and the beneficiary. The Brunn Program (1901) of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.) regarded a graduated tax on inheritance along with income and property as a substitute for all indirect forms of taxation. In the post-1945 period, nonsocialist as well as socialist governments have imposed inheritance taxes to pay for greatly increased government expenditure on defense and the welfare state (q.v.). (*See also* Taxation, Wealth)

INSTITUTIONS (*See* Cooperative Movement, Friendly Societies, Labor Unions, Political Parties)

INTERNATIONAL ALLIANCE OF SOCIALIST LAWYERS (IASL) The IASL was formed under the auspices of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) at its Brussels congress in 1928 to advise it on legal matters and to assist it with socialists who were victims of persecution. The IASL was built on existing organizations in Germany and Austria. In 1931 the IASL had 1,500 members in 15 countries. (*See also* Labor and Socialist International)

INTERNATIONAL BRIGADES The International Brigades were left-wing volunteers who fought on the republican side during the Spanish Civil War (1936-39) against General Franco. The war was generally regarded as a fight against fascism among socialists of all persuasions. The Brigades were organized mainly by the Comintern (q.v.) and operated between October 1936 and October 1938; many, although not all of its participants, were communists. American volunteers were organized in the Abraham Lincoln Brigades of whom about 60 percent were communists. The main places where the Brigades fought were Córdoba, Brunete, Guadalajara, and Zaragoza. In all, about 59,000 men fought in the International Brigades; of these, nearly 10,000 were killed and 8,000 badly wounded. Most of the volunteers came from France (28,000), Belgium (14,000), Italy (4,500 of whom 3,000 were living in exile), United States (2,800), and Britain (2,440), but most other parts of Europe were represented, as well as volunteers from Canada and Australasia. George Orwell (q.v.) was the best remembered British fighter on the republican side. In January 1996 the Spanish parliament agreed to grant citizenship to the 400 worldwide survivors of the International Brigades, thereby fulfilling a promise by the dying republican government in 1938. (*See also* Anarchism, George Orwell, Spanish Civil War)

INTERNATIONAL CONFEDERATION OF FREE TRADE UNIONS (ICFTU) The ICFTU has been the largest international body representing organized labor in noncommunist countries since its formation in 1949. After the International Federation of Trade Unions was replaced by the World Federations of Trade Unions (qq.v.) in 1945, there was growing concern over infiltration of the new body by communist organizations controlled by the Soviet Union. This concern was strongest in the United States, Britain, and the Netherlands, which set up the ICFTU in 1949. At its founding, the ICFTU had 51 countries members which represented 48 million

union members of whom 43 percent were in Western Europe and 31 percent in North America. Despite its strong support for independent labor unions, many of the ICFTU's members in Latin America, Africa, and Asia violated this principle. By the 1960s the ICFTU had broadened its perspective to include progressive social goals. In 1969 the politically conservative AFL-CIO (q.v.) withdrew from the ICFTU and did not rejoin until 1981. In 1984 the ICFTU began to conduct annual surveys of violations of trade union rights in the world. After 1989 some labor federations from former East European communist countries were admitted to membership in the ICFTU. By 1996 organized labor in Eastern Europe accounted for 9 percent of the 125 million members in the ICFTU. As well as country members, International Trade secretariats, bodies representing employees in particular industries, have also been associated with the ICFTU, although retaining their autonomy. (*See also* International Federation of Trade Unions, Labor Unions)

INTERNATIONAL CO-OPERATIVE ALLIANCE (ICA) The ICA was set up in London in August 1895 from a mixed membership of individuals and cooperative organizations. It originated in the Co-operative Union, a centralized body designed to assist, represent, and promote the interests of the various British consumer cooperatives that was set up in 1870. An international conference of cooperatives held in London was attended by representatives from Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, and the Netherlands as well as the United Kingdom. In 1895 the Co-operative Union agreed to become the British section of the ICA. After 1901 only organizations were allowed to remain members. Individuals were excluded. The aims of the ICA were to promote the principles and methods of consumer and producer cooperation, to provide a forum for friendly relations between cooperatives internationally, and to further economic and social progress for all people in every country through cooperation. An International Cooperative Women's Guild was formed in Basle, Switzerland, in 1921.

The early growth of the ICA was impressive; by 1921 it claimed a global (mainly European) membership of 25 million. But growth was hampered by totalitarian suppression of free cooperatives in Italy (1924), Germany (1933), and the Soviet Union. By 1940 the ICA claimed 40 million members. With the admission of other forms of cooperative societies after 1940 and the push to build membership outside Europe after 1945, the membership of the ICA

reached 214 million by 1964. Since that time, the ICA has again expanded impressively; in 1996 the ICA had 207 affiliated member organizations in 89 countries representing 750 million people. (*See also* Cooperative Movement, Cooperative Wholesale Society)

INTERNATIONAL FALCON MOVEMENT–SOCIALIST EDUCATIONAL INTERNATIONAL (IFM-SEI) The IFM-SEI was formed in Amsterdam in October 1947 to coordinate and promote the educational and political efforts of democratic socialist member organizations. It was intended to replace the Socialist Education International, which operated between 1924 and 1940. Youth (q.v.) are a particular target of the educational efforts of he IFM-SEI. The present title of the organization was adopted in 1970. In 1995 the IFM-SEI had 32 full members in 26 countries. (*See also* Education)

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF THE SOCIALIST AND DEMOCRATIC PRESS (IFSDP) Established in 1953 and based in Milan, Italy, the IFSDP aims to promote cooperation between the publishers and editors of socialist newspapers. The IFSDP is a member of the Socialist International (q.v.).

INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION OF TRADE UNIONS (IFTU) The IFTU was the first continuous general international organization of labor unions. Officially called the International Secretariat of the National Trade Unions Federations until 1919, the IFTU was formed in Copenhagen on August 21, 1901 by labor representatives from Britain, Belgium, France, Germany, Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Finland. The original impetus for the formation of the IFTU came from J. Jensen, the leader of the Danish labor unions, who had attended a conference held by the General Federation of Trade Unions in London in 1900. Its largest affiliates between 1901 and 1913 were Britain and Germany. The American Federation of Labor joined the IFTU in 1911, but left officially in 1919; it did not re-affiliate until 1937. Before 1913 the IFTU devoted itself to collecting money to help unions and strikers and to exchanging information. World War I split the IFTU along national lines, and it was not reestablished until 1919.

After 1919 the IFTU participated in European politics, a policy that led the American Federation of Labor to withdraw. The IFTU invited the Russian trade unions to its conferences, but these moves

were met with hostility from the communist government, which regarded the IFTU as a competitor for the leadership of organized labor. The Russians established Profitern, the labor arm of the Comintern, as a rival to the IFTU. The IFTU continued to aid labor unions in affiliated countries and carried out fact-finding missions of workers' conditions in Austria and Belgium (1920) and the Saar and Upper Silesia (1921). Throughout its life, the IFTU was essentially a moderate, European-based organization and the voice of organized labor in the International Labour Organisation. In 1927 the IFTU established an International Committee of Trade Union Women, which lasted until 1937. It considered issues such as equal pay for equal work, domestic service, working from home, and the women's peace campaign.

In the 1930s the IFTU tried to widen its membership; India joined in 1934, Mexico in 1936, New Zealand in 1938, and China (qq.v.) in 1939. The Australian Council of Trade Unions was invited to join in 1936, but did not accept. At conferences in 1931 and 1932 the IFTU adopted the 40-hour work week and a comprehensive social program as objectives.

Despite its best efforts, the IFTU was weakened by the suppression of organized labor by fascism and was undermined by communism (q.v.) and lack of support from the American Federation of Labor for most of its life. The IFTU gave way to the World Federation of Trade Unions and ceased to exist on December 31, 1945. (*See also* Comintern, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions)

INTERNATIONAL JEWISH LABOR BUND (IJLB) The IJLB was set up in the United States by Polish-Jewish refugees in 1941. "Bund" referred to a Jewish labor organization formed secretly in Vilna, Poland, in October 1897 that included Jews in Lithuania, Poland, and Russia. Its original title was *Algemyner Yidisher Arbeter Bund in Lite, Poyin un Rusland*, and it claimed 20,000 members by 1904 and 40,000 by 1917. The IJLB held its first international conference in Brussels in 1947 when it adopted its present title. Based in New York, the IJLB is dedicated to the elimination of anti-Semitism and equality and self-determination for Jews, that is, the right of Jews to their own culture within their countries of residence by neither assimilation nor Zionism (q.v.). In 1995 the IJLB had member organizations in Argentina, Brazil, Canada, United States, Uruguay, Israel, Belgium, Denmark, France, Ukraine, and the

United Kingdom. It has been an associate member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since its founding in 1951. (*See also* Jews)

INTERNATIONAL LEAGUE OF RELIGIOUS SOCIALISTS (ILRC) Founded in 1922 as the *Union internationale des socialistes religieux* (International Union of Religious Socialists) at Bad Eptingen, Switzerland, and reorganized in 1938, the ILRC was intended to unite Christian socialists in a worldwide brotherhood, to awaken the social consciousness of Christians, and to promote socialism. In 1994 the ILRC claimed 17,500 members in Austria, Costa Rica, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Hungary, Lithuania, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Switzerland, the United Kingdom, and the United States. (*See also* Christian Socialism, Christianity, Religion)

INTERNATIONAL OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS (IRS) The IRS was an anarcho-syndicalist body that was established as an independent body to the Profintern—an arm of the Comintern (q.v.) designed to infiltrate trade unions in July 1921—in Berlin in December 1922. The congress resolved to adopt its formal title, the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) as a gesture of continuity with the first international socialist organization, but it is not generally known by this name. Its delegates represented about a million members. In 1923 the Spanish *Confederación del Trabajo* (Confederation of Labor) joined the IRS and raised its membership to over 2 million. Other organizations that joined the IRS were located in Bulgaria, Poland, and Japan. In 1928 the anarcho-syndicalist unions in Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Cost Rica, Guatemala, Mexico, Paraguay, and Uruguay formed their own international, which became the American division of the IRS and raised its membership to about 3 million. The strength of the IRS was destroyed by fascism, first in Italy in 1924, and then in the 1930s in Germany, Spain, and Portugal. Its headquarters was moved to Stockholm where it survived, at least on paper, into the 1960s. (*See also* Anarcho-Syndicalism, Syndicalism; Table 2, Statistical Appendix).

INTERNATIONAL SOCIALIST WOMEN'S COMMITTEE (ISWC) The ISWC developed out of an international women's conference, which was held in Hamburg in connection with the first congress of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) in 1923. Its

origins can be traced to the International Women's Congress which was created in 1907 as part of the Second International (q.v.); the first international women's conference had been held in Copenhagen in 1910. The 1931 congress of the ISWC, which was held in Vienna in connection with that of the Labor and Socialist International, discussed women's suffrage (q.v.), their right to work, the organization of women, women in agriculture (q.v.) and domestic service, and the status of housewives. In 1928 there were 973,900 women members of the Labor and Socialist International. (*See also* International Women's Day, Women; Table 3, Statistical Appendix,)

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST DEMOCRATIC TEACHERS (IUSDT) The IUSDT was formed at Versailles, France, in July 1951 to provide an international forum for individuals engaged in education of all types who supported the ideals of democratic socialism. Affiliated with the Socialist International (q.v.), the USDT had members in autonomous organizations in 22 countries in 1994. (*See also* Commission of Socialist Teachers of the European Community, Education)

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST TEETOTALLERS (*See* Temperance)

INTERNATIONAL UNION OF SOCIALIST YOUTH (IUSY) The IUSY was founded in Paris in October 1946 as a successor to the International of Socialist Youth, which operated between May 1923 and 1939. The aims of the IUSY were to promote the cause of democratic socialism among young people, to fight against racism (q.v.), fascism, imperialism (q.v.), and to fight for the right of all people for free and independent social development. The IUSY has relations with the Socialist International (q.v.) and international bodies concerned with youth. In 1996 the IUSY had 97 affiliated member organizations in 75 countries. (*See also* Youth)

INTERNATIONAL WOMAN'S DAY The first practical steps to institute an international day to draw attention to the needs of women were taken in Germany by Clara Zetkin (q.v.) and Louise Zietz just before the congress of the Second International (q.v.) in Stuttgart in 1910 based on the example of May Day. However, the initiative failed. Women's Day was not held in Western Europe until March 18, 1911, the fortieth anniversary of the Paris Commune

(q.v.). In the United States an International Woman's Day was begun on February 23, 1909, a date which was also adopted by socialists in the Russian empire. It was on International Woman's Day, on February 23,1917 according to the Gregorian calendar, but March 8, 1917 according to the Julian calendar, that Russian women in Petrograd effectively launched the "February" Revolution. Zetkin persuaded Lenin to declare International Woman's Day a holiday in communist countries from 1922. In 1967 the idea of an international Woman's Day was revived by feminist students in Chicago. (*See also* International Socialist Women's Committee, Women, Clara Josephine Zetkin)

INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMEN'S ASSOCIATION (IWMA) Also known as the First International, the IWMA was the first attempt to found an international body to protect and advance the interests of the working class, although the idea was suggested by Flora Tristan (q.v.) in 1843. The IWMA was formed in London in September 1864 against a background of a depressed economy (the late 1850s saw a slump in the building trades in London and Paris), the American Civil War (which hurt employment in the British textile industry), and the presence of some French labor leaders who were supporting the Polish revolt against Russian rule in 1863. Once the IWMA was established, Marx and Engels (q.v.) took the leading role in its affairs. The IWMA was mainly composed of the leaders of English organized labor and political émigres from continental Europe. A split developed between these two groups, particularly after 1867 when the better-off English urban working class was given the vote; they tended to support reformist solutions for labor's problems, whereas continental European members could not envisage their governments ever granting the necessary concessions; they tended to support revolution.

These tensions eventually proved fatal to the IWMA. It broke up at its Hague conference in 1872 , and Marx moved it to New York to avoid it coming under anarchist control. It was formally wound up in Philadelphia in 1876. Although primarily a radical political organization, the IWMA assisted the campaign in northeast England in 1871-72 for the nine-hour day and frustrated the employers' attempt to recruit strikebreakers from continental Europe. In return, the IWMA was allowed to raise money in Britain to assist strikers in other parts of Europe. A short-lived offshoot body of the IWMA, the Democratic Association of Victoria, operated in Australia in 1872.

The maximum total membership of the IWMA was about 350,000. (*See also* Karl Marx, Second International)

INTERNATIONAL WORKING UNION OF SOCIALIST PARTIES Also known as the Vienna Union, this body, which was dubbed the Two-and-a-Half International by Lenin, was formed in 1921 by the socialist parties of Austria, France, and Switzerland, the German Independent Socialist Party and the British Independent Socialist Party rather than join either the Second International or the Comintern (qq. v). A unity conference between these three bodies in Berlin in 1922 broke down. In May 1923, at a second congress in Hamburg, the International Working Union of Socialist Parties joined the remnants of the former Second International (q.v.) to form the Labor and Socialist International. (*See also* Labor and Socialist International)

INTERNATIONALE The "Internationale" is the anthem of international socialism, intended to rally working-class (q.v.) unity and action. The lyrics were written by Eugène Pottier (1816-1887) in 1887, a former member of the International Workingmen's Association and a participant in the Paris Commune (qq.v.). The music was composed by Pierre de Geyter (1848-1932) in 1888. The *Internationale* was adopted by the Second International and was made the national anthem of the Soviet Union in 1921, retaining this status until 1944. As a result, the *Internationale* became more associated with the revolutionary tradition of socialism rather than with the reformist tradition. (*See also* Second International)

INTERNATIONALISM Internationalism—the doctrine of support for cooperation and friendliness between nations—has always been a theme of socialism. Given its emphasis on cooperation as a fundamental principle of how society should operate ideally in a nation, it was logical for socialists to apply that idea across nations. The first sustained movement toward internationalism within socialism began in the 1860s in politics and the cooperative movement (q.v.). The International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) was formed in 1864 and a congress of English cooperatives in 1869 was attended by representatives from several European countries. Thereafter the internationalist impetus sagged until the late 1880s as socialist parties sought to establish themselves within countries. Its revival was shown by the establishment of the Second

International (q.v.) in 1889, the formation of the International Co-operative Alliance (q.v.) in 1895, and the International Federation of Trade Unions (q.v.) in 1901. The 1900s were the high point of socialist internationalism. Socialist international bodies were formed among youth and women (qq.v.) in 1907 and an international socialist sports organization was formed in 1913. The outbreak of World War I, and the orgy of nationalism (q.v.) that accompanied it, together with the success of the Bolshevik coup in Russia in 1917, destroyed the unity of internationalism within socialism; from 1919 international socialism was split into democratic and communist camps. The democratic elements were represented by the Labor and Socialist International and the communists by the Comintern (qq.v.). Competition from fascism eliminated effective democratic socialist internationalism by the 1930s. Practical socialist internationalism has been most successful in Scandinavia and German-speaking countries.

Outside of its immediate ranks, democratic socialism made its interest in internationalism clear by supporting the economic integration of Europe in the German Social Democratic Party in the 1920s and in the British Labour Party (qq.v.) in the 1930s. Since 1945 support for internationalism among democratic socialist parties in Western Europe has continued, but it has been tempered by the need to face the realities of government, the domestic focus of social democratic governments policies, and the diversion of attention and resources caused by competition from communism. Since the 1970s democratic socialist support for internationalism has been expressed largely through the Socialist International (q.v.) and its concern for redressing the huge economic balance between industrial developed countries and the Third World and issues such as disarmament. (*See also* European Socialist Movement, Jens Otto Krag, Nationalism, Socialist International, Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe, Paul-Henri Spaak)

IRISH LABOUR PARTY The Irish Labour Party, like the British Labour Party (q.v.), was created by the trade union movement. Formed in 1912, it has been a minor party for most of its history. The reasons for the weakness of the party lay in the rural nature of Irish society, the overriding importance of nationalism in Irish politics and the separation of Ulster from the Irish Republic which denied the party access to the only large concentration of urban working class people in the country. Faced with a conservative

Catholic electorate, the party's appeal was limited; between 1923 and 1957, the party only gained 10 percent of the vote on one occasion, 1948. Conflict with the Catholic hierarchy arose in 1939 when the Chuch declared that the reference to the setting up of a workers' republic in the party's constitution of 1936 was contrary to Catholic teaching; the reference had to be removed. The party suffered because of conflicts within the trade union movement, particularly the split between the British-based unions and Irish unions. In 1943 James Larkin (1876-1947), a radical socialist and general secretary of the Workers' Union of Ireland, succeeded in being elected to parliament as Labour member. This caused the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union leadership to disaffiliate from the Labour Party, to accuse the Labour Party of being infiltrated by communists, and to establish a separate labor party, the National Labour Party, which existed until 1948. After making significant gains in the November 1992 elections, which increased the number of seats they held from 15 to 33, the ILP entered into a coalition government in January 1993, an arrangement which ended in June 1997. (*See also* British Labour Party, Social Democratic and Labour Party)

"IRON LAW OF OLIGARCHY" A phrase coined by the German political theorist Robert Michels (1876-1936) to describe what he regarded as the inevitable tendency for large political parties to become bureaucratic and less democratic, with decision making dominated by a small number of leaders. The organization may be democratic in theory, but in reality it is an oligarchy. Michels was active in the German Social Democratic Party before 1907 and used it as the model for the theories that he published as *Political Parties* in German in 1910 and in English in 1915. His views have been criticized for ignoring the effects of the repressive Antisocialist Law (q.v.) on the German Social Democratic Party and the growth of the lower levels of the party's organization after 1907. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Leadership/Rank-and-File Tensions)

ISRAEL LABOR PARTY (MAH) Founded in January 1968 as the *Mifleget Avoda Hayisraelit*, the MAH is the direct descendent of the oldest Israeli political parties. It was formed by the merger of the *Mapai* (which had been founded by David Ben-Gurion (q.v.) and others in January 1933), the *Rafi* (a breakaway party from the Mapai

also founded by Ben-Gurion in 1965), and another party, the *Achdet Avoda*. The MAH led coalition governments from 1948 to 1977 and participated in governments of national unity of varying political complexions from 1984 to 1996. Shimon Peres (1923-)—a member of the *Mapai* since 1959, general secretary of the *Rafi* from 1965 to 1968, and chairman of the MAH from 1977 to 1992—served as prime minister from 1984 to 1986. He was replaced as chairman of the MAH in February 1992 by Yitzhak Rabin (1922-1995) who led the MAH to victory in the elections of June 1992 and formed a coalition government in July. MAH is a Zionist and a socialist party. Its socialism has been evident in its support for the welfare state, labor unions (qq.v.), the separation of state and religion (q.v.), and, most controversially, equal treatment for minorities, including Israel's Arabs. Its foreign policy has been one of seeking a negotiated settlement with Israel's Arab neighbors, a policy that led to hostility from Jewish settlers in the face of rising terrorism from Arab extremists: one of these Jewish settlers assassinated Rabin on November 11, 1995. Peres again became prime minister but was defeated in the election of May 29, 1996, the first election in which the prime minister was chosen by the direct vote of the electors. The MAH has always been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) and in 1987 claimed a membership of 300,000. (*See also* David Ben-Gurion, Jews, Zionism)

ITALIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (*See* Italian Socialist Party)

ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY (ISP) Founded as the *Partito Socialista Italiano* in Genoa in August 1892, the ISP has had an unhappy history of major splits because of the polarized character of Italian society and politics and because Italy lagged behind other Western European countries in achieving genuinely democratic government; for example, universal male suffrage (q.v.) was not granted until 1912 and the right could not be exercised until the 1913 national elections. As well, Italy was torn by widespread rural discontent from the late 1890s. The ISP faced strong competition from anarchism and syndicalism (qq.v.) before 1914 and from communism after 1920. These pressures, plus the lack of political experience of the leadership of the ISP in government, promoted an air of unreality and impracticality within the ISP. The growth in electoral support for the ISP was comparatively slow; in 1895 it

secured 7 percent of the vote. In 1900 this had doubled to 13 percent, but in 1913 this support had only grown to 18 percent. Reformists ("minimalists") and revolutionaries ("maximalists") fought for control of the ISP in 1912 and 1917. Benito Mussolini (q.v.) was one of the leaders of the left wing of the ISP before 1914. Party membership fluctuated wildly. In 1914 the ISP had 58,000 members, but only 24,000 by August 1918 and then 216,000 by 1920, a reflection of the upsurge in rural and industrial unrest at the time. In 1919 the ISP officially left the Second International and agreed to join the Comintern (qq.v.). Despite intervention by Clara Zetlin (q.v.), the ISP refused to expel the reformists as demanded and by 1921 negotiations had broken down. The political immaturity of the ISP was shown in November 1919 when 156 socialist deputies were elected (131 from the north), an impressive result, that was drained of significance because many did not bother to attend parliament confidently expecting an imminent revolution. But the threat of revolution alienated the middle class (q.v.) and fed the ranks of the fascists.

In January 1921 the left wing of the ISP split and formed the Italian Communist Party (*Partito Communista Italiano*). From this time onward all the left-wing parties faced physical assault from Mussolini's supporters (the "blackshirts"). The formation of the Communist Party split the left and cost the ISP about a third of its membership. In October 1922 a Reformist Socialist Party was formed with Giacomo Matteotti as secretary; Matteotti's murder by the fascists on June 10, 1924 is generally regarded as the formal beginning of Mussolini's dictatorship. In November 1925 a member of the Reformist Party tried to assassinate Mussolini, who used the incident to outlaw the party. In November 1926 the ISP was formally outlawed, but by then its membership had slumped to 15,000.

The ISP was reconstituted in Paris and was recognized by the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.). In 1930 the ISP was reunited in exile when the maximalists and the reformists came together. Otherwise the ISP took no effective part in the resistance to Mussolini. In contrast, the Communist Party maintained active resistance, and 3,000 of its members were imprisoned. In August 1934 the ISP and the Communist Party reached an accord to consult and cooperate with each other on matters of mutual concern. This Unity of Action agreement, which, with a break between 1939 and 1942, ran until the mid-1950s, worked to the advantage of the

communists who were the best-organized force among the Italian left. Under the leadership of Palmiro Togliatti (1893-1964), the Communist Party shrewdly adopted a policy of working for "progressive democracy" in April 1944. Togliatti realized that no Italian revolution was possible without Soviet intervention and that the party would have to work with the Catholic Church and the liberals to further its ends. Despite its impotence and general lack of coherence as a party, the ISP attracted 20.7 percent of the vote in the national elections of 1946, compared to 18.9 percent for the Communists. In January 1947 the reformists in the ISP led by Giuseppe Saragat split over cooperation with the Communist Party and formed the Italian Workers' Socialist Party (IWSP); in 1952 the IWSP joined with other parties to become the Italian Social Democratic Party (ISDP). In 1949 the ISP was excluded from the Committee of the International Socialist Conference (q.v.) because of its dependence upon the Communist Party. In 1966 the ISDP rejoined the ISP but broke away again in 1969; since that time it has only attracted 5 percent or less of the vote in national elections.

After the Soviets crushed the Hungarian uprising in 1956, the dominance of the Communist Party within the Italian left began to decline and the ISP began to develop slowly into an truly independent party; for example, it accepted Italian membership in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. In 1962 Fanfani formed a government with ISP support, even though its support at the 1963 elections was only 13.8 percent, compared to 25.3 percent for the Communists. In 1976 Bettino Craxi (q.v.) became leader of the ISP. A social democratic, non-Marxist program was adopted in 1978 and the traditional ISP symbols of the rising sun and the hammer and sickle were replaced by the red carnation. At the same time the Communists continued to provide significant competition to the ISP by becoming more moderate. In 1968 they denounced the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia and took a leading role in Eurocommunism. This process continued until in February 1991 the Communist Party transformed itself into a noncommunist party, the Italian Democratic Party of the Left. It was admitted to full membership of the Socialist International (q.v.) in September 1992.

Between 1946 and 1973 the membership of the ISP fell from 850,000 to 463,000. Over the same period the proportion of members who lived in the north fell from 50 to 43 percent, and the proportion who lived in the south rose from 30 to 38 percent. What is even more striking about the ISP in the post-1945 period has been

its poor electoral showing. Even when their votes are combined, the Italian socialist parties have attracted at most only about a fifth of the vote; in 1987, for example, they received 17 percent of the vote—the ISP receiving 14 percent and the ISDP receiving 3 percent. Nevertheless, Craxi led a socialist government—the first in Italy's history—from 1983 to 1987. From 1989 to 1994 the ISP was a participant in national coalition governments. In June 1990 the ISP renamed itself the Partito Unità Socialista (Socialist Unity Party), but reverted to its former name in 1992. Although the ISP won 13.6 percent of the national vote in 1992, Craxi's conviction for fraud (and charges against 30 other party leaders) in July 1994 destroyed its image. At its congress in Rome on November 13, 1994 the ISP resolved to dissolve itself; a new party was formed, the Italian Socialists (*Socialisti Italiani*) in the hope of rebuilding public support, but to no avail and the party has been a spent force in Italian politics ever since.

Meanwhile, the Democratic Party of the Left (DPL) assumed the leadership of the Italian left much as it had done in the 1940s and 1950s, except that this time the DPL was increasingly accepted by the electorate as a genuinely social democratic party. In the lead-up to the national elections on April 21, 1996, the DPL formed the Olive Tree alliance with four other parties, including the Greens, and won 284 of the 630 seats in the chamber of deputies and 157 of the 315 elective seats in the senate, to form a center-left coalition government. (*See also* Bettino Craxi, Democratic Party of the Left, Benito Mussolini, Giuseppe Saragat; Table 18, Statistical Appendix)

J

JAPANESE SOCIALIST PARTY (JSP) Like labor unions (q.v.), socialism was imported into Japan in the late nineteenth century. The first labor unions were formed among metal manufacturing employees in 1897, although labor disputes were reported from at least 1870. Sen Katayama (q.v.), who had been active in the formation of labor unions, began publishing a column about socialism in his journal *Rodo Sekai* (Labor World) in 1897. In 1898 Katayama and others formed a society to study socialism and converted itself into the *Sakaiminshuto* (Social Democratic Party) in 1900. Christians, particularly Unitarians, played a leading role in the early years of Japanese socialism, four of the six founders of the *Sakaiminshuto* being Christians. The program of the party included

the nationalization (q.v.) of the means of production, universal suffrage, civil equality, disarmament, and legalization of labor unions. The government banned the *Sakaiminshuto* and it was reformed as the *Nihon Shakaito* (Japan Socialist Party) (JSP) in 1901. During the Russo-Japanese War (1904-5) the socialists became more active. Katayama was sent to the Amsterdam conference of the Second International (q.v.) in 1904 where he and Russian delegate Georgi Plevhanov (1857-1918) shook hands to express the solidarity between the working classes of their two countries. The gesture led to further repression of socialists in Japan. The JSP became divided between those who wanted to reform the constitution and those who wanted change by revolution. In 1910 the JSP was not only banned but its leadership was tried in secret: 12 were executed and 12 were sentenced to lifetime imprisonment. Before 1914 socialism in Japan was largely confined to intellectuals. It revived after 1918 mainly as a result of wartime inflation and the subsequent drop in working-class living standards. Universal male suffrage was granted in 1925.

The JSP was reestablished in November 1946 and adopted a reformist program that sought to make Japanese society more egalitarian through constitutional means. After the 1947 election the JSP became the largest party and formed a coalition government with Katayama Tetsu as prime minister. The JSP suffered from internal conflict between reformists and revolutionaries. In 1959 the right wing of the JSP broke away and established the Japan Social Democratic Party (later renamed the Democratic Socialist Party) in January 1960. It drew much of its support from the labor federation *Domei*. In 1986 it attracted 6.4 percent of the vote in the national elections and claimed a membership of 40,000. At the same elections, the JSP received 17.2 percent of the vote and claimed a membership of 55,000.

Both parties have sought a more self-reliant defense policy for Japan. The JSP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1951 and the Democratic Socialist Party has been a member since 1961. In December 1994 the Democratic Socialist Party joined with some other parties (but not the JSP) to form the *Shinshinto* or New Frontier Party; this political grouping won 156 of the 500 seats in the house of representatives elections in October 1996 to become the largest opposition party.

By 1990 the JSP had become known as the Japanese Social Democratic Party of (JSDP). In June 1994 its leader, Tomiichi

Murayama (q.v.) became prime minister of a coalition government and held the post until January 1996. The JSDP's period of coalition government with its long-time enemy, the conservative Liberal Democratic Party, forced it to abandon or moderate many of its long-held policies, particularly its pacifism (q.v.) and general opposition to American foreign policy. In contrast to European social democratic parties, the JSDP has not taken a leading role in promoting domestic reforms with respect to matters like social welfare, consumer protection, or the environment, preferring to leave them to the Liberal Democratic Party. This period of coalition government—and its attendant policy compromises—alienated many of its traditional supporters, and led to an extraordinary convention in September 1995. The convention agreed to reform the JSDP as the Democratic League and, to adopt policies designed to win more support among the middle ground of Japanese politics. In the national elections for the house of representatives in October 1996 the JSDP won only 15 of the 500 seats, compared to 30 before the elections. As well as alienating its own supporters by its policies while in government, the JSDP also suffered from a new rival party, the Democratic Party of Japan, which had been formed in September 1996. (*See also* Sen Katayama, Tomiichi Murayama)

JAURÈS, JEAN LEON (1859-1914) Born in Castres in southwestern France to a middle-class family with a background in the professions and business, Jaurès developed into an outstanding intellectual. He lectured in philosophy at the University of Toulouse from 1883 to 1885 and from 1887 to 1893. He was familiar with Marx (q.v.) and his work, but was never a Marxist. He was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies from 1885 to 1887, 1893 to 1898, and from 1902 until his death. From 1892 when he was returned in a by-election, Jaurès began the transition from liberal to socialist. He began voting with the socialist deputies but remained outside any faction. He was a pacifist who believed that socialism could be best achieved by gradual means. He took a leading role in the campaign to overturn the conviction of Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish military officer who had been falsely accused of selling military secrets to Germany. Jaurès was a fine orator with a striking appearance, who conveyed sincerity and integrity. As a scholar, he is best remembered for his large-scale history of socialism beginning with the French Revolution and closing in 1900. In 1904 he founded the socialist journal *L'Humanité*, later better known as the organ of the

French Communist Party. At the Amsterdam conference of the Second International in 1904 he criticized the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) for attempts to impose its tactics on other countries, although he accepted their call for unity and was the main force behind the unification of what became the French Socialist Party (q.v.). Jaurès had planned to stop World War I by a general strike but tragically was murdered by a demented monarchist. (*See also* French Socialist Party)

JEWS Jews have played an outstanding role in the history of socialism as both revolutionaries and reformists. Among the many socialist thinkers and leaders who were Jews (although often not practicing Jews), were Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, Eduard Bernstein, Rosa Luxemburg, Victor Adler, Léon Blum, David Ben-Gurion, Julius Braunthal, and Bruno Kreisky (qq.v.). Outside the Russian empire, most of the leading Jewish socialists had middle-class origins. Because of its inclusive nature and its general emphasis on equality, cooperation, and justice, socialism attracted many Jews, especially in view of the endemic anti-Semitism in most of northern and eastern Europe, which grew worse in many areas from about 1850 with the growth of nationalism. The Jews occupied a peculiar position in European society as permanent outsiders and as an unforeseen challenge to many socialist assumptions. The ideas of the French Revolution of 1789 recognized the rights of Jews as individuals but not as a people; to do otherwise would have violated the foundations of the nation-state as understood in the nineteenth century. Among the Jews themselves there were enormous differences of economic circumstances and adherence to their religion and culture. Many in eastern Europe were poor, oppressed, and subject to officially sanctioned violence in pogroms. Others, most famously the Rothschilds, were the bankers and financiers of Europe, individuals identified in anti-Semitic propaganda with exploitation.

As a movement, socialism before about 1920 regarded the problems faced by the Jews as the product of manipulation by capitalism. Anti-Semitism was seen as a temporary aberration and a device intended to divide the working class and divert it from the struggle with its capitalist oppressors. Therefore replacing capitalism by socialism would automatically mean the end of anti-Semitism. Although this was true to some extent in eastern Europe at least, the deeply rooted nature of anti-Semitism was little understood by

socialists who based their analysis of society on economic relationships and social class. Both Mensheviks (q.v.) and Bolsheviks wanted to denationalize Russia's Jews. In 1900 about half of the world's Jews then lived in the Russian empire and of these about 90 percent were forced to live in the pale of settlement, a zone created by legislation between 1795 and 1835 covering a swathe of territory in the western part of the empire.

Jews were particularly important in the membership of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.). About 40 percent of the party's membership in 1910 lived in Vienna, which then contained nearly 175,000 Jews or about 9 percent of its total population.

Revolutionary Jewish socialists like Rosa Luxemburg rejected their Jewish culture and embraced socialist internationalism. They wanted Jews to assimilate into their societies and give up their distinctiveness. Zionism (q.v.)—the creation of the a separate Jewish nation in Palestine—was not the favored choice of all Jews. The Jewish Labor Bund denounced Zionism and held (in 1903) that the solution to the Jews' problems was a proletarian revolution, but it recognized that a separate organization was needed to protect Jews. Eduard Bernstein (q.v.) was approached in 1902 by Chaim Weizmann to lend his support to Zionism. Bernstein declined and indeed criticized the movement, although he was impressed by the pioneering efforts of Jewish settlers in Palestine in the 1920s. In 1930 David Ben-Gurion approached Bernstein to try to persuade the British government to drop its threat to halt Jewish immigration to Palestine. (*See also Kibbutz*, International Jewish Labor Bund, Israel Labor Party, Nationalism, Racism, World Labor Zionist Movement, Zionism)

JOSPIN, LIONEL ROBERT (1937-) French Socialist Party prime minister, Jospin was born in Meudon, Hauts-de-Seine, a district of Paris, and is a Protestant. He was educated at the École Nationale d'administration and was secretary of the ministry of foreign affairs from 1965 to 1970. He was professor of economics at Paris-Sceaux University from 1971 to 1980; in 1981 he was elected to the chamber of deputies, the lower house of the French parliament. He joined the French Socialist Party in 1971 and succeeded François Mitterand as first secretary of the party in 1981. He held this post until 1987. He was minister for education from 1988 to 1992. Although defeated in the 1992 elections, he was reelected in 1994. In the presidential elections of April 1995 he received 23.3 percent

of the vote during the first round—the highest figure for any single candidate—and although he was defeated by the conservative Jacques Chirac in the second round of voting in June 1995, the margin of his defeat (52.6 to 47.4 percent) was far less than had been predicted. In the national elections in 1997, Jospin led the party to victory winning 43.1 percent in the first round (May 25) and 38.5 percent in the second round (June 1). With the support of the Communist Party (which won 10 percent of the vote in the first round and 3.6 percent of the vote in the second round). Jospin was able to form a government. His administration was elected on a platform to create 700,000 jobs for young people, to reduce the working week from 39 to 35 hours, to restrict privatization, to introduce a broader taxation (q.v.) system, and to impose conditions on French support for a single currency for Europe. (*See also* French Socialist Party, François Mitterrand)

K

KATAYAMA, SEN (1860-1933) Katayama was the best-known Japanese socialist before 1930 and an important activist in international socialism. He was born in the village of Hadeki in central Okayama. An able and hard-working student, he moved to Tokyo in 1881. After enduring much poverty, he became an apprentice printer. He followed a friend to the United States in 1884 and supported himself by menial jobs in San Francisco. He converted to Christianity while attending English classes in a Chinese mission. He continued his education at institutions in Tennessee, Iowa, and Massachusetts. He was influenced by the writings of Richard T. Ely (q.v.), particularly *The Social Aspects of Christianity* (1889), and became familiar with Ferdinand Lassalle (q.v.) from reading an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

He returned to Japan in 1896 and took a leading role in labor agitation and the formation of trade unions. He helped to form a society for the study of socialism (*Shakai Shugi Kenyã-kai*) in November 1898. He set up the first socialist newspaper in Japan, (the *Naigai Shimpõ*), in 1902 but the venture failed. Katayama wanted socialism to be a mass movement, but this was difficult to achieve in Japan because of its late industrialization and the strength of the government. Katayama returned to the United States in 1903 and in 1904 attended the Amsterdam conference of the Second International (q.v.), where he was honored as the only Asian

delegate. He was elected first vice-president and was taken by the hand by the Russian delegate, Plekhanov, as a gesture of peace and to show the socialists' support for peace, even though Russia and Japan were then at war. He returned to the United States and lived in Texas until 1907, thereby avoiding the infighting and the repression of socialists in Japan. He returned to Japan, married a second time, and was arrested and jailed for five months in 1912 after a successful streetcar strike in Tokyo. He left Japan for the United States again in 1914 with a reputation greater internationally than in Japan.

At the invitation of S. T. Rutgers, a leader of the left wing of the Dutch Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.), he left San Francisco and moved to New York in 1916. While in New York, he wrote the book that he became best remembered for, *The Labor Movement in Japan* (1918), in which he exaggerated his own role and denigrated that of his opponents. With his move to New York, Katayama became part of the extreme left of socialism. He immediately realized the importance of the Bolshevik coup in 1917. He went underground to avoid the Palmer Raids of 1920 against communists and from then on played an active role in the Comintern (q.v.). He engaged in revolutionary agitation in Mexico from March to November 1921 before leaving for Russia, where he was welcomed by Leon Trotksy. In 1922 he assisted with the formation of the Japanese Communist Party. Katayama not only survived in the Comintern, an unusual accomplishment, he prospered. He was given a lavish state funeral in Moscow. (*See also* Japanese Socialist Party)

KAUTSKY, KARL JOHANN (1854-1938) Socialist theorist and author, Kautsky was a leading figure in German socialism before 1920. Born in Prague, he was educated at Vienna University. He often visited Marx in 1881 and was Engels' secretary between 1881 and 1883. He lived mainly in London until 1890. He founded a journal of theoretical Marxism (q.v.), *Die Neue Zeit* (The New Time), at Stuttgart in 1883 and remained its editor until 1917. But he was forced into exile in Switzerland and then London, and he was not able to bring *Die Neue Zeit* back to Germany until 1890. Among the works he wrote were a study of More's *Utopia* (1888) and *Karl Marx' ökonomische Lehren* (The Economic Doctrines of Karl Marx) in 1887, which was widely read as a textbook and translated into a number of languages. In this and other works, Kautsky has since been criticized for presenting Marx as a more dogmatic and

systematic thinker than he really was. As the leading theorist of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.), he drafted the Marxist analysis in the preamble to the Erfurt Program (q.v.) in 1891. He worked closely with Eduard Bernstein until they split over revisionism (qq.v.) in 1899. Between 1905 and 1910 he edited three volumes of Marx's notes on the history of the theory of surplus value.

In 1902 he wrote *Die soziale Revolution* (The Social Revolution) in which he attempted to sketch the likely features and priorities of the proletarian state after the revolution. He envisaged the socialist conquest of power in terms of a peaceful progression that used propaganda and the gained power in labor unions (q.v.), parliament, and other institutions in line with the inevitable atrophy of capitalism caused by its internal contradictions as exposed by Marx. There was no suggestion in his thought of the Leninist notion of seizing political power by violence.

He imagined the socialist state as centralized, independent of established religion, defended by a citizen's militia, having a graduated system of taxation (q.v.), without rights of inheritance (q.v.), and having a mixture of nationalized industries and consumer and producers' cooperatives. Kautsky was a leading personality in the Second International (q.v.) and was widely regarded as an arbiter of Marxist theory. He hated violence and saw war as a product of capitalism. He opposed World War I and from 1917 he and Bernstein worked together again; like Bernstein, Kautsky stressed the importance of democracy and ethics in achieving socialism. He opposed the Bolshevik Revolution and criticized Leninism (q.v.) and the dictatorship of the proletariat in his *Die Diktatur des Proletariats* (1918), which prompted a rejoinder by Leon Trotsky in *The Defense of Terrorism* (1920). Kautsky left Germany for Austria in 1924, but was forced to flee to Amsterdam in 1938 after Hitler's takeover in 1938. His last book concerned socialism and war (q.v.). (*See also* German Social Democratic Party)

KEATING, PAUL JOHN (1944-) Australian Labor Party (ALP) prime minister, Keating was born and educated in Sydney, New South Wales. He began his working life as a research officer with the Federated Municipal and Shire Council Employees' Union. He joined the ALP at 15 in 1959 and became president of the New South Wales Youth Council of the ALP in 1966. His political education included an association with the former ALP premier John

T. Lang (q.v.) as well as serving as president of the New South Wales branch of the ALP between 1979 and 1983. In 1969 he was elected to the federal parliament for the outer Sydney suburban seat of Blaxland. He served as minister for northern Australia in the government of E. G. Whitlam (q.v.) for six weeks before it was dismissed in November 1975. While in opposition, he was shadow minister for minerals and energy (1976-80) and resources and energy (1980-83) until becoming spokesman for treasury matters on January 14, 1983. After the victory of the ALP in the federal election of March 11, 1983, Keating became treasurer of the Hawke government and, with Hawke, its principal policy maker. He oversaw the progressive deregulation of the financial system, the floating of the Australian dollar and reforms to the taxation (q.v.) system. His close association with the Australian Council of Trade Unions, the national body of labor unions, was essential in maintaining an accord on prices and incomes that had been reached with the council in February 1983. Personal and policy differences between Keating and Hawke led to his resignation as treasurer on June 3, 1991 after losing a challenge for the office of prime minister by 66 to 44 votes. A second challenge, on December 19, 1991, was narrowly won by Keating. He became prime minister on December 20, 1991. Keating continued as prime minister until his landslide defeat in the elections on March 2, 1996, and resigned from the federal parliament shortly afterward. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, Robert James Lee Hawke)

KERENSKY, ALEXANDER FEODOROVICH (1881-1970) Russian democratic socialist and politician, Kerensky was born in Simbirsk (later Ulyanovsk). His father was the headmaster of the high school where Lenin (q.v.) was educated. Kerensky qualified as a lawyer from St. Petersburg University and joined the Russian Socialist Revolutionary Party in 1905. He suffered arrest, imprisonment and exile in 1905-6. On his return to St. Petersburg, he worked as an advocate for political dissidents. He was elected to the Duma (parliament) in 1912. After the revolution in March 1917, he became minister for justice in the provisional government. His main initiatives in that position were abolishing ethnic and religious discrimination—a czarist policy that particularly affected Jews (q.v.)—and the death penalty. Kerensky believed that socialism was not possible without democracy, but without a mass constituency to support him, Russian politics remained dominated by extremists of

the right and the left and his initiatives were never implemented. Further, his continued support for the Allies in World War I doomed his efforts to find a moderate, socialist middle path that emphasized the rule of law. Kerensky became prime minister of the provisional government on July, 24 1917. His government was effectively ended by the Bolshevik coup on November, 7 1917. He left Russia in May 1918 and spent the rest of his life in exile in France (from 1919 to 1940), Australia (1940 to 1946) and then in the United States. He published *The Kerensky Memoirs* in 1966 and worked for a time at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University. (*See also* Mensheviks).

KIBBUTZ Derived from a Hebrew word meaning gathering, kibbutzim were developed as a form of cooperative farming in Palestine by Russian Jewish immigrants from 1909. The kibbutz was based on the collective ownership of the means of production, its organization, and allocation of labor. By 1991 there were 270 kibbutzim with 129,300 members compared to 254 kibbutzim with nearly 120,000 members in 1979. The kibbutz was a practical application of the socialist aspects of Zionism. Most kibbutzim are affiliated with the national labor union federation, the Histadrut, and are a major source of support for the Israel Labor Party. (*See also* Communes, Israel Labor Party, Zionism)

KIENTHAL CONFERENCE Called by the International Socialist Commission established by the Zimmerwald Conference (q.v.), this conference was held at Kienthal, Switzerland, in April 1916. Attended by 44 delegates and comparable in composition to those who attended the Zimmerwald Conference, the Kienthal Conference was far more left-wing and revolutionary in feeling. It denounced the failure of the international socialist bureau of the Second International (q.v.) to act to stop World War I and asserted that socialism, achieved through the victory of the proletariat, was the only way to ensure an enduring peace. (*See also* Zimmerwald Conference)

KRAG, JENS OTTO (1914-1978) Danish social democratic politician, Krag was born in Randers. Like Hans Hedtoft-Hensen (q.v.), he made his progress in the Danish Social Democratic Party through its youth (q.v.) organization, which he joined in 1930. In 1940 he completed a master's degree in political science at the

University of Copenhagen and took a position with the economic council set up by the labor unions (q.v.) of Denmark. In 1947 he was elected to parliament and was made minister of commerce and shipping in the Hedtoft government, a post he held until 1950 when he went to Washington, D.C. as a counselor on economic matters with the Danish embassy. He was elected to parliament again in 1952 and served as minister of economics and labor from 1953 to 1957 and as foreign minister from 1958 to 1962. He served two terms as prime minister, the first from 1962 to 1968 and the second from 1971 to 1972. Like Hedtoft, he opposed neutrality for Denmark and supported an active national defense policy. Related to this was his strong support for European economic cooperation. He served as head of the European Economic Community delegation to Washington in 1974. For his work on European unity, he was the recipient of the Charlemagne Prize in 1966 and the Robert Schuman prize in 1973. (*See also* Danish Social Democratic Party, Hans Hedtoft-Hensen)

KREISKY, BRUNO (1911-1990) A leading Austrian socialist, Kreisky was born in Vienna into a wealthy Jewish family. He joined the Austrian Social Democratic Party in the 1920s and worked for it until its banning in 1934. He was imprisoned (1935-36) and on his release completed his legal studies. He was arrested again after Hitler's absorption of Austria and went into exile in Switzerland, where he worked for a consumer cooperative. On his return to Austria in 1946 he joined the diplomatic service and was made state secretary for foreign affairs. He played an important role in the 1955 agreement that guaranteed Austria's independence and neutrality. Kreisky was elected to parliament in 1956 and became leader of the Austrian Socialist Party in 1967. He led it to victory in the 1970 elections and became chancellor, a position he held until 1983. He used his diplomatic skills to negotiate a special relations agreement with the European Economic Community in 1972 and to work for a peaceful resolution of the Arab-Israeli conflict. (*See also* Austrian Social Democratic Workers'/Socialist Party)

KROPOTKIN, PETER ALEXEYEVICH (1842-1921) Born in Moscow into an aristocratic family, Kropotkin became the leading theorist of anarchism after the death of Bakunin (q.v.) in 1876. He was a geographer in Siberia, where contact with political exiles made him familiar with the writings of Proudhon (q.v.). Like

Proudhon, he advocated a devolution of political power to communes (q.v.), that is voluntary, local administrative units that could form, through union with other communes, cooperative networks that would replace centralized governments. Unlike Bakunin, Kropotkin emphasized need, not work, as the criterion for the distribution of goods and services. He opposed any form of wage system and wanted the means of exchange to be based on the labor time of the individual worker. He presented his ideas in *The Conquest of Bread* (1892), *Fields, Factories and Workshops* (1899) and *Mutual Aid among Men and Animals* (1902). Kropotkin served terms of imprisonment in Russia and France and lived in England from 1885. He returned to Russia after the March 1917 revolution, but opposed Bolshevik policies. (*See also* Anarchism)

L

LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (LSI) The Labor and Socialist International was formed in 1923 in Hamburg, Germany, by 620 delegates from 30 countries representing socialist and labor parties drawn from the remnants of the Second International and the International Working Union of Socialist Parties. It regarded the class struggle as a means of achieving socialism. Competition from the Comintern (q.v.) and the rise of fascism greatly reduced the effectiveness of the LSI, even though it claimed 6.2 million members in Europe and North America at its last conference in 1931. The LSI had close links with the International Federation of Trade Unions (q.v.). Its main achievement was to provide assistance for refugees from fascism. The LSI was made defunct by World War II and was replaced by the Socialist International, a noncommunist body, in 1951. (*See also* International Working Union of Socialist Parties, Second International; Table 3, Statistical Appendix)

LABOR SPORTS INTERNATIONAL (LSI) The LSI was established in Brussels, Belgium, in 1946 as a continuation of the Socialist Workers' Sports International. Its aims were to promote sport, physical education, and intellectual and moral education among youth (q.v.). It was an associated organization of the Socialist International (q.v.) from 1951. In 1995 it claimed 80 million members in 26 countries. (*See also* Socialist Workers' Sports International)

LABOR UNIONS Labor unions occupy a central place in the history of socialism. With friendly societies and cooperatives (qq.v.), they provided the essential foundation for socialism to become a mass movement in Western Europe. In their present form, that is, voluntary associations of employees that seek to maintain or improve the pay and conditions of employment of their members through collective bargaining, labor unions emerged in England by the eighteenth century, as a reflection of its commercial and industrial growth. Although intermittent as organizations, labor unions conducted a total of 383 labor disputes in Britain between 1717 and 1800 in more than 30 trades. The number of union members at the start of the nineteenth century in England is not known, but some indication of the extent of working-class organization is indicated by a petition to parliament opposing the repeal of the apprenticeship clauses in 1814. It was signed by 30,517 journeymen. The legal prohibition on unions was effectively lifted in 1824. Yet outside of Britain before 1835, labor unions seem to have existed only in France (where they were not legalized until 1884), the United States, Canada, and New South Wales, Australia.

Before 1880 unions were often ephemeral organizations whose membership fluctuated wildly according the health of the economy. The core of their support came from skilled, relatively well-off employees. Although not political organizations as such, unions with their demands for better pay and conditions did play a political role not just through lobbying—where they were allowed to, notably in England—but less obviously through their implicit challenge to the distribution of wealth (q.v.) and power in society, a topic of central importance to socialist theorists from the 1840s. Between 1880 and 1913 the numerical strength of the unions grew from about 606,000 to 14.1 million worldwide, mainly in Western Europe. The United States was the outstanding exception to this growth. This growth reflected not just a surge of working-class mobilization generally, but also the beginnings of unionism among white-collar employees such as teachers and government employees.

Relations between labor unions and socialist/social democratic parties (q.v.) were close. Indeed, in what is now Austria, the unions and the Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.) were not clearly differentiated until after 1909. The programs of the social democratic/socialist parties in the 1890s show how close this relationship was in most of continental Europe. For instance, the Erfurt Program of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v)

included a separate section of demands for the protection of labor: an eight-hour working day, prohibition of employment for children under 14 years of age, prohibition of night work unless essential, an unbroken period of rest of at least 36 hours for all workers, prohibition of payment in kind, a system of factory inspectors, legal equality of agricultural workers and domestic servants with industrial workers, repeal of the laws governing masters and servants, confirmation of the right of association, and the assumption of workmen's insurance by the government with employees being given a share in its administration.

Similar kinds of demands were also included in the other programs of socialist/social democratic parties of the time, although national experience differed widely. In France, the unions declared their independence from political parties in 1906. In the same year the German unions declared themselves equal partners with the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) in the leadership of the working class. The histories of the labor unions and the social democratic/socialist parties tended to parallel one another in most countries where they were legally permitted. Again, the United States is the exception to these developments because no social democratic/socialist party based on labor unions ever became part of the political mainstream. Like the social democratic/socialist parties, the labor unions provided a focus for socialists and after 1919 a target for communist infiltration.

Relations between labor unions and social democratic parties have always varied greatly between countries. They have been particularly close in Sweden, the United Kingdom, Germany, Austria, Australia, and New Zealand—to the point of being regarded as natural allies—but far less close in most other countries. The distancing of labor unions from social democratic/socialist parties (outside of northern Europe and Australia and New Zealand) arose from the weakness of labor unions (as in southern Europe where the parties sought out other allies), and the existence of significant ideological divisions among the labor unions that made it difficult for them to give their support as a single entity. In France and Italy, the major union federations have been dominated by communists since World War II, thus depriving socialist parties of an important source of potential political support. Even in countries where social democratic parties and labor unions have a close relationship, there can still be disagreements about policies when social democratic or

socialist parties form governments, most notably over salaries and wages policy.

Since about 1980 trade union membership in many Western economies has declined substantially in response to falls in manufacturing employment, increased part-time employment, the growth of employment in the service sector, and a failure by labor unions to actively recruit young employees. The weakened strength of labor unions has affected their political power within social democratic and labor parties. This has been particularly evident in Britain where the number of trade union members affiliated with the Labour Party fell from a peak of 6.5 million members in 1979 to 4.6 million members in 1992. This loss of strength has enabled the party leader, Tony Blair (q.v.), to be far more independent of labor union opinion in preparing policy than any previous Labour prime minister. (*See also* International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, International Federation of Trade Unions)

LABOUR PARTY (*See* British Labour Party)

LABOUR REPRESENTATION LEAGUE This league was formed by organized labor in Britain in 1869 to promote the election of working-class candidates to parliament. Despite enjoying some electoral successes in 1874, political concessions to labor and a lack of resources doomed the league. It was defunct by 1889, but its activities were continued by the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress. (*See also* British Labour Party)

LAIDLER, HARRY WELLINGTON (1884-1970) American socialist author and publicist, Laidler was born into a middle-class family in Brooklyn, New York city. Educated at Wesleyan University, Connecticut, he joined the Socialist Party of America in 1903. With Upton Sinclair (q.v.), Jack London, and Clarence Darrow, he founded the Intercollegiate Socialist Society in 1905. Laidler was the society's executive head from 1910 to 1921. In 1923 the society was reorganized as the League for Industrial Democracy to promote socialism, employee participation in decision making at the workplace, social planning, public control or ownership of essential services, trade unions, and cooperatives. Laidler served as the league's executive director until 1957. The author of many books and pamphlets on socialism and social issues, he was best known for his *Social-Economic Movements* (1944), which he

revised and updated as *History of Socialism* (1968), the most comprehensive single volume on the subject in English to that time. (*See also* Socialist Party of America)

LANG, JOHN THOMAS (1876-1975) Lang was twice Australian Labor Party (ALP) premier of the state of New South Wales (1925-27 and 1930-32) and one of its most controversial. Born in Sydney, he was elected to the New South Wales parliament in 1913 for the Sydney suburban electorate of Granville. He was a member of the New South Wales parliament until 1946. He opposed conscription during World War I and in 1923 became leader of the ALP in New South Wales. His first term as premier in 1925-27 was notable for two pioneering initiatives in building the welfare state (q.v.): child endowment and widows' pensions. His second term as premier (1930-32) was dominated by the Depression. Lang's populist economic policies, which included a reduction in the interest rate on Australia's large overseas borrowings, were opposed by the federal ALP Scullin government and even more so by its successor, the conservative United Australia Party government. Lang's attempt to resist federal law over the collection of money claimed by it for interest charges led to his dismissal by the state governor, Sir Philip Woolcott Game (1876-1961), but privately the two men remained friends for many years. Lang's government was defeated at the June 1932 New South Wales election. Lang lost his leadership of the New South Wales ALP in 1939 and in 1943 was expelled from the ALP for opposing the federal ALP Curtin (q.v.) government over conscription. He was readmitted to ALP membership in 1971, having outlived his enemies. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, James Henry Scullin)

LANGE, DAVID RUSSELL (1942-) New Zealand Labour Party (NZLP) prime minister, Lange was born in Thames and qualified as a lawyer in 1965. He moved to Auckland in 1974 to practice law, became active in local politics, and was elected to parliament in 1977. He became leader of parliamentary NZLP in 1983 and, on Labour's electoral victory, prime minister in 1984. His administration was notable for its economic deregulation and free-market policies that were associated with his finance minister Roger Owen Douglas (1937-). His administration received international attention over its refusal to allow U. S. warships which were carrying nuclear weapons (q.v.) into New Zealand ports. The U. S.

government's refusal to either confirm or deny that its warships were carrying nuclear weapons led to a stalemate and the effective withdrawal of New Zealand from the defense treaty with Australia and the United States (ANZUS). After Labour's win in the 1987 elections, Lange and Douglas fell out over economic policy; Lange felt that the economic policies of Douglas were too extreme. After continued conflict, Lange resigned as prime minister in 1989. (*See also* New Zealand Labour Party)

LANSBURY, GEORGE (1859-1940) British socialist and leader of the British Labour Party(q.v.), Lansbury was born near Halesworth, Suffolk, England, but later moved to London. In 1884 he and his family emigrated to Queensland, Australia, to improve their circumstances but returned to England after a year, blaming misleading emigration propaganda. Lansbury became a partner in his father-in-law's sawmilling and veneering business in Whitechapel, London. Lansbury's socialism came from a number of sources, but primarily from his devout Christianity (q.v.). Unlike most other British socialists who were usually Nonconformists, he was an Anglican. Like many of them, he was a total abstainer. At first associated with the Liberal Party, he was at various times in the 1880s a member of the Social Democratic Federation, the Independent Labour Party and the Fabian Society (qq.v.). He first stood for parliament in 1895. Like Keir Hardie(q.v.), he cared passionately about unemployment (q.v.) and helped to found a colony for the unemployed in Suffolk. He was one of the members of the royal commission into the poor laws (1905-9), and, with Sidney Webb (q.v.), one of the signatories of its minority report. In 1910 he was elected to parliament for the British Labour Party, but resigned to fight as an independent for votes for women (q.v.). He was reelected in 1922 as member for the seat of Bow and Bromley in London's East End. He held the seat until 1935. He was one of the founders of the British Labour Party's first daily newspaper, the *Daily Herald*, in 1912.

After the disastrous 1931 election, Lansbury was the only member of Ramsay MacDonald's cabinet to retain his seat and was elected leader of the much reduced parliamentary British Labour Party. As well as being a socialist, Lansbury was also a complete pacifist. He wanted Britain to unilaterally disarm as a model for other nations. At the party's conference in 1935 Ernest Bevin (q.v.) trenchantly attacked him for his failure to support the party's

executive decision calling on the government to enforce sanctions against Italy for its invasion of Ethiopia, which, like Italy, was also a member of the League of Nations. Unable to reconcile his pacifism with this course of action, he resigned as leader and was replaced by Clement Attlee (q.v.). Lansbury later visited the heads of government of Western Europe to try to win them to the cause of peace and pacifism. (*See also* British Labour Party, Pacifism, Temperance)

LASSALLE, FERDINAND (1825-1864) Lassalle was the leading figure in German socialism from 1848 until his death. Born at Breslau, then part of Silesian Prussia, he was the son of a well-off Jewish silk merchant. His original surname was Lassal, which he changed to Lassalle probably to make it sound more French (and thereby link it with revolution) and more aristocratic. A highly intelligent, flamboyant, and romantic man, he had experienced discrimination by the Prussian education system, which was biased towards Protestantism. He studied philosophy at the Universities of Breslau and Berlin. He became well acquainted with Marx and his works, but was not prepared to be dominated by him. Unlike Marx, he remained a follower of Hegel. He saw the state as the expression of the people, not as a construct of social class. He also supported the ideas of Louis Blanc (q.v.). He argued that the German working class had to organize itself to demand and attain manhood suffrage, to capture political power, and to use the power of the state to advance their interests. Lassalle saw himself as a champion of the working class but he also wanted social advancement. In December 1862 he was asked to organize a congress of the working class, which he used to set up the General Union of German Workers in May 1863, the first and numerically largest German socialist party until 1875. Fittingly, Lassalle died in a duel. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Gotha Program)

LATVIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LSDP) The LSDP was formed in 1904. At that time Latvia had been part of the Russian empire since 1772 (and did not attain independence until 1918). Under these conditions the LSDP could achieve little apart from surviving. At the 1922 elections it received 250,000 votes, that is 31.5 percent of the total, and won 33 of the 100 seats in the Diet or parliament. Four members of the LSDP participated in a coalition government between December 1926 and December 1927. The

LSDP was a member of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.), but from the late 1920s the fortunes of the LSDP fell. Its vote in national elections fell to 231,000 in 1928 to 192,000 in 1931, when it claimed a membership of 9,000. Hitler's accession to power in 1933 encouraged fascism within Latvia. In May 1934 the Farmers' Party Government staged a coup d'état and proclaimed martial law. The leaders of the LSDP were arrested or forced into exile. In 1940 Latvia was incorporated into the Soviet Union.

Latvia formally declared its independence from Russian rule in August 1991 and was recognized by the Russian government in September 1991. The Latvian Social Democratic Workers' Party was reestablished in December 1989 but attracted only 1 percent of the vote in the 1993 national elections, compelling it to form coalitions with other political parties. The LSDP was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1994. (*See also* Estonian Social Democratic Party, Lithuanian Social Democratic Party)

LEADERSHIP/RANK AND FILE TENSIONS Mass democratic movements that seek social and economic change are especially prone to tensions between their leaders and their rank and file. When tensions are publicly displayed, they may create an impression of continual disunity. If serious, these tensions can lead to breakaway parties, but more often they are simply symptomatic of the democratic process of debate and exchange. The sources of tension may be excessive control by the leadership—what Robert Michels called the "iron law of oligarchy" (q.v.)—or dissatisfaction with particular policies of the leadership by a significant section of the rank and file. These kinds of tensions increased in the post-1945 years when social democratic parties gained political power, often for the first time. In the 1950s and 1960s there were tensions between the leadership and the rank and file of the German Social Democratic Party over nuclear weapons (qq.v.) that were expressed through extraparliamentary movements. In the British Labour Party (q.v.) there were marked differences between the views of rank and file, which were dominated by blocs of labor union delegates, and Hugh Gaitskell, the leader of the party between 1955 to 1963, over his support for the removal of the socialization objective (q.v.) from the constitution and his opposition to unilateral disarmament. In 1977 the congress of the Dutch Social Democratic Workers'/Labor Party (q.v.) voted against its leaders and supported a republican form of government. Between 1980 and 1983, the British Labour

Party was wracked with tensions between militant left-wing activists and its parliamentary members. Another example of leadership/rank and file tensions occurred within the Norwegian Labor Party (q.v.) in November 1994, when many of its supporters voted against a referendum on Norway joining the European Union, even though a party conference had decided in favor by majority of two to one.

Unresolved leadership/rank and file tensions can lead to party splits and the formation of new parties. Opposition to World War I led to a split in the German Social Democratic Party in 1917 and the formation of a separate party that was not reunited with the parent party until 1922. In 1955 the Australian Labor Party (q.v.) suffered a major split over the attitude of the leadership to communism (q.v.); the split, and the anticommunist anti-Labor party that grew out of it (the Democratic Labor Party), resulted in the Australian Labor Party remaining out of power in the national parliament until December 1972. In April 1989 a split occurred in the New Zealand Labour Party (q.v.) over privatization; those who opposed privatization formed an independent party, the New Labour Party, which attracted 5.2 percent of the vote in the national election in 1990 compared to 35.1 percent for the parent party. (*See also* Membership of Social Democratic/Socialist Political Parties)

LEAGUE OF AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST PARTIES (LADSP) Based in Tunis, Tunisia, the LADSP was established in 1981 as the Socialist Interafrican. Also known as the African Socialist International, the LADSP provides an international forum for socialist parties in Africa. Its statement of aims proclaims that democratic socialism is the only way to develop African countries and deliver their people from all forms of exploitation and oppression. Its founders were Léopold Senghor, the former president of Senegal, and Habib Bourguiba, the president of Tunisia. In 1988 the LADSP had 11 member parties in Djibouti, Gambia, Mauritius, Morocco, Senegal, Somalia, Sudan and Tunisia and was still an active organization in 1995. (*See also* African Socialism)

LEFT BOOK CLUB The Left Book Club was influential in spreading informed debate about socialism and social reform in Britain in the late 1930s. It was an initiative of Victor Gollancz (1893-1967), John Strachey, a Labour member of parliament, and the political theorist Harold Laski (1893-1950). Launched in 1936, it was designed to resist fascism and promote socialism by providing the public with

informed works of nonfiction. Its membership rose from 10,000 at its formation to nearly 60,000 by 1939, but fell rapidly after the Hitler-Stalin Pact. Among its most notable works were George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937) and Ellen Wilkinson, *The Town That Was Murdered* (1939). The club was wound up in 1948. (*See also* George Orwell)

LENIN (1870-1924) The preeminent Russian revolutionary, "Lenin" was, from late 1901, the pseudonym of Valdimir Ilyich Ulyanov, who was born in Simbirsk (later renamed Ulyanovsk in his honor), into an educated middle-class household. In 1887 his elder brother was hanged for taking part in a conspiracy to kill the czar, an event that made Lenin a determined revolutionary for the rest of his life. He first became acquainted with the works of Marx (q.v.) in 1890. A brilliant student, Lenin studied law at the Universities of Kazan and St. Petersburg and practiced law between 1891 and 1894, but was a full-time revolutionary thereafter. He was exiled to Siberia in comfortable circumstances between 1896 and 1899 and was then forced to spend most of the next 17 years in exile in Western Europe. In 1903 he won a narrow victory at the second conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in London over the composition of the membership of the party. Lenin wanted party membership to be restricted to full-time, committed individuals whereas his opponents the Mensheviks (q.v.), were prepared to include sympathizers. A prolific and polemical writer, Lenin founded Leninism and organized the coup in November 1917 that established the Soviet Union. His time in power was notable for its violent suppression of opponents by execution and mass imprisonment, the establishment of an efficient totalitarian regime, the suppression of religion (q.v.), and plans to collectivize agriculture (q.v.) that were implemented by his successor, Joseph Stalin. (*See also* Communism, Leninism)

LENINISM Leninism, also known as Marxist-Leninism, was the leading ideology of revolutionary socialism in the twentieth century. Lenin (q.v.) blended Marxism (q.v.) with his personal experiences of czarist Russia and the extraordinary opportunities offered by the disastrous participation of the Russian empire in World War I. The main features of Leninism, as set out in his *What Is to Be Done?* (1902) and other works, were the need for a professional, dedicated party of revolutionaries who were to be the vanguard of the

proletariat and were to guide it both before and after the revolution; "the dictatorship of the proletariat" based on a particular reading of Marx's criticisms of the Gotha Program (q.v.); hostility toward social democrats, liberals and parliamentary democracy generally; hostility to religion (q.v.); and a view of imperialism that saw it as the last stage of capitalism (q.v.). Leninism provided the basis for global communist parties after 1920.

Leninism differed radically from most other forms of socialism current before 1915. Specifically, most socialists, even those who believed in the eventual downfall of capitalist by revolution, such as Kautsky (q.v.), believed that the revolution would occur spontaneously and that there was no need to hasten it, much less to replace a capitalist government by dictatorship and to deny democratic processes. A second vital difference concerned religion (q.v.). Leninism was opposed to religion (q.v.) in principle as a means of deluding and oppressing the masses. Before 1920 mainstream European socialism could be generally described as areligious. There was certainly hostility to established religions where they were part of oppressive government machinery, owned excessive amounts of property, or had a monopoly in areas such as education (q.v.). But the dominant view, as expressed in the Erfurt Program (q.v.), saw religion as a private matter. (*See also* Klaus Johann Kautsky, Lenin, Rosa Luxemburg, Religion)

LEVELLERS The Levellers were a group of reformers who emerged in the army of Oliver Cromwell during the English Civil War between 1647 and 1650. Despite their name, which was suggestive of severe egalitarianism (q.v.), the Levellers were not as radical as their conservative opponents painted them. Claiming traditional birthrights derived from the Magna Carta (1215), the Levellers sought recognition of political, civil, religious, and economic rights. They asserted the sovereignty of parliament over any form of monarchy and the election of members of parliament by a broadly based suffrage (q.v.). The extent of the suffrage was never precisely defined by the Leveller spokesmen, but it was not a universal suffrage. They presented their case during debates at Putney between 1647 and 1649. The Levellers were later suppressed by Cromwell. Because of their support for individualism and property, they have been since described as radical liberals rather than radical democrats. (*See also* Egalitarianism, Diggers, Liberalism)

LIBERALISM Liberalism may be broadly defined as a range of beliefs that have at their center an emphasis on the importance of the individual and the freedom of the individual. As a political tradition, such as existed in eighteenth and nineteenth-century Britain, liberalism was often seen as the enemy of socialism, particularly its insistence on the sanctity of individual property and the minimum degree of interference by governments in economic and social affairs. In contrast, socialist theories rejected the capitalist system and advocated (with the notable exception of anarchism (q.v.)), collectivist solutions to economic and social problems with government expected to play a leading role. Notwithstanding these divisions, liberalism made important contributions to the practice if not the theory of socialism. Liberals and socialists could agree, for instance, on their opposition to autocracies. Liberalism showed, in Britain at least, that it was possible to make significant improvements to the social order and to alleviate the worst features of the capitalist system through incremental change. There was disagreement about the pace of that change, but liberalism showed it could be done through constitutional means. It was a measure of the success of British liberalism that most trade union leaders before the 1880s were liberal supporters. Most importantly, liberalism contributed the idea that the lives and liberty of individuals were precious and had to be taken into account in the process of political change.

The experience of repressive regimes, both communist and noncommunist, demonstrated repeatedly how easily such concerns could be lost. After 1945 the Cold War forced Western social democratic parties and labor parties to move further to the right to remove themselves from the charge of association with communism. The formal expunging of Marxism by the German Social Democratic Party from its Godesberg Program (qq.v.) in 1959 was symbolic of this broader development. As a result, many elements from the liberalism and the democratic socialist tradition merged. (*See also* Eduard Bernstein, Fabianism, Frankfurt Declaration, Godesberg Program, Levellers, John Stuart Mill, Positivism)

LIEBKNECHT, KARL (1871-1919) Karl Liebknecht, the son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, was born in Leipzig. He qualified as a lawyer and used his legal training to defend socialists. In 1907 he founded the Socialist Youth International, the first body of its kind, and became its leader. With Rosa Luxemburg, he was identified with the

far left wing of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.). He opposed Germany's policies during World War I and organized the Spartacist League in 1915 in response. He was jailed for the rest of the war. In 1919 he converted the league into the Communist Party of Germany and led a communist uprising in Berlin in January 1919. He was captured and shot dead by right-wing former army officers (the *Freikorps*). (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Wilhelm Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg)

LIEBKNECHT, WILHELM (1826-1900) With August Bebel (q.v.) Liebknecht was one of the founders of the League of Workingmen's Associations, which was reconstituted as the Social Democratic Workers' Party (*Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei*) in 1869 and became part of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). Liebknecht was born in Giessen, Hesse. He took part in the 1848-49 revolution in Germany and then lived in exile in London where he became acquainted with Marx and Engels (q.v.). On his return to Germany, he joined the General Union of German Workers, which had been founded by Ferdinand Lassalle (q.v.) in 1863. Disagreement with Lassalle's policies led Liebknecht and Bebel to found their own party which merged with Lassalle's followers to form the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) in 1875. Liebknecht took an active part in both the International Workingmen's Association and the Second International (qq.v.). His son Karl Liebknecht was a prominent left-wing German socialist. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Karl Liebknecht)

LITERATURE The literature most relevant to the history of socialism falls into two main categories: utopian or visionary works concerned with imaginary societies and works critical of existing society that stimulated social reform. The most famous of these works, although not a socialist work, or even the first work of its kind, was Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), which presented a distant, secular, ideal society that was implicitly critical of the society of his day. In the nineteenth century utopian literature provided a vehicle for the promotion of socialist visions. Between 1813 and 1985 at least 217 works of utopian literature that contained socialist themes of some kind were published in English. Of these 130 were prosocialist or sympathetic and 87 were antisocialist or satirical. Between 1880 and 1889 12 prosocialist works were published—compared to 14 which had been published in English in the whole period from 1813 to

1879. Between 1890 and 1899 30 pro-socialist utopian works were published and 30 more from 1900 to 1909. Thereafter the number of these works gradually dropped off. In other words, of the 130 prosocialist utopian works which were published in English between 1813 and 1985, no less than 72 or 55 percent appeared between 1880 and 1909. Among the best-known works of utopian literature were William Morris, *News from Nowhere* (1892), Robert Blatchford, *The Sorcery Shop* (1907), and two works by H. G. Wells, *A Modern Utopia* (1905) and *New Worlds for Old* (1908).

Among novelists who were socialists and used the literary medium to promote socialism, the author with the most enduring reputation was Upton Sinclair (q.v.), especially his work of 1906, *The Jungle*, which had the unintended effect of initiating federal food legislation. After 1917 the number of works of utopian literature inspired by socialist visions dropped off sharply and the literary medium became increasingly used by antisocialists and anticommunists to present antiutopias of society under communism or socialism. (*See also* Robert Peel Glanville Blatchford, William Morris, Upton Sinclair, Herbert George Wells, Utopian Socialism; Table 1, Statistical Appendix.)

LITHUANIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (LSDP) The LSDP was formed in 1896. Lithuania became part of the Russian empire in 1795 and remained so until it achieved independence in 1918. The formation of the LSDP reflected an upsurge in nationalism (q.v.) in Lithuania, which had begun in 1883. The LSDP became a member of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) and claimed 2,000 members in 1925. At the elections in 1926 the LSDP received 170,000 votes and won 15 out of 78 seats in the Diet, or parliament, thereby making it the second largest party in the country. It participated in a coalition government until December 1926, when it was violently overthrown by a right-wing coup. The leadership of the LSDP was either arrested or forced into exile. In June 1940 Lithuania was occupied by the Soviet Union. Lithuania declared its independence in March 1990, which prompted Soviet military intervention. Lithuania's independence was formally recognized by the Russian government in September 1991. The LSDP (*Lietuvos Socialdemokratu Partija*) was reestablished in August 1989. The LSDP was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1994. (*See also* Estonian Social Democratic Party, Latvian Social Democratic Party)

LONGUET, CHARLES FÉLIX CÉSAR (1833-1903) A French socialist, Longuet was born in Caen. He was initially a follower of Proudhon (q.v.), but became a Marxist after his marriage to Marx's eldest daughter, Jenny, in 1872. He was a member of the International Workingmen's Association and was a leader of the Paris Commune (qq.v.). After 1889 he moderated his views and attracted a following. His followers, Longuetites, were pacifists during World War I. They supported the Bolshevik revolution, but not the dictatorship of the proletariat and helped to set up the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (q.v.) in 1921. (*See also* Pacifism)

LONGUETITES (*See* **LONGUET, CHARLES FÉLIX CÉSAR**)

LUXEMBOURG SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (LSWP) The LSWP was founded in 1902 as the Luxembourg Social Democratic Party and adopted its present title, *Letzeburger Sozialistesch Arbechterpartei*, after World War II. It suffered a reverse in 1921 when its left wing split off and formed a communist party. In 1928 it declared a membership of 1,200 to the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.). In 1937 the LSWP was elected to government and laid the foundations for a welfare state (q.v.). It was a participant in government from 1945-47, 1951-59, 1964-68, and 1974-79. The right wing of the LSWP split in 1968 and the LSWP was reorganized in 1974. In 1984 it attracted 33.6 percent of the national vote and in 1987 claimed a membership of 5,000. The LSWP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1951.

LUXEMBURG, ROSA (1870-1919) Luxemburg was a leading left-wing German socialist. She was born in Zamość in Russian Poland into a middle-class Jewish family. On her mother's side she was descended from a long line of rabbis, but she knew no Hebrew and only a little Yiddish. She probably became a socialist to protest the enforced Russification of Poland in Warsaw in 1887. In 1889 she was forced to flee to Switzerland, where she completed a doctorate on Poland's development as a capitalist society. She moved to Berlin in 1898. She took an active role in the Second International and opposed revisionism (qq.v.). She was on the far left of the German Social Democratic Party. Luxemburg saw the collapse of capitalism as inevitable on the grounds that in order to expand it

needed precapitalist economies that it absorbed and then killed off. Eventually there would be no more precapitalist economies and the system would break down. The revolution in her view needed the spontaneity of working class. She entirely disagreed with Lenin (q.v.) that the revolution required a small, disciplined, dedicated party. In 1918 she wrote a pamphlet on the Russian Revolution that was published in 1922. In it she attacked the Bolsheviks for the suppression of the peasantry, national groups, and their denial of democratic freedoms. She was a critic of separatist movements such as Zionism and the International Jewish Labor Bund (qq.v.), but wanted protection for Russian Jews from pogroms and the abolition of the pale of Jewish settlement in the Russian empire. She doubted the ability of small nations to defy large ones. Luxemburg opposed World War I and was jailed several times. With Karl Liebknecht (q.v.), she was captured by right-wing former army officers after their communist uprising in Berlin in January 1919 failed. She was bashed with rifle butts and then thrown still alive into the Landwehr canal to drown. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Jews, Karl Liebknecht)

M

MACDONALD, JAMES RAMSAY (1866-1937) MacDonald was the first prime minister to come from the British Labour Party. Born to poor, unmarried parents in Lossiemouth, Scotland, he briefly belonged to the Social Democratic Federation before joining the Independent Labour Party (qq.v.) in 1894 (after he had been rejected by the Liberal Party as their candidate for the seat of Dover). He was secretary of the British Labour Party from 1900 to 1911 and chairman of the parliamentary Labour Party from 1911 to 1914 and again from 1922 to 1931. He was first elected to the House of Commons as the member for Leicester in 1906. He was the strategist and theorist of the Labour Party. He published three books before 1914: *Socialism and Society*, *Socialism and Government*, and *The Socialist Movement*. These works added nothing new to socialist theory; they presented an orderly evolutionary view of socialism and its compatibility with liberalism (q.v.) in order to create a party that would appeal to all social classes. Expanding state control was seen as the means to implement socialist policies; class struggle was rejected. He opposed both British participation in World War I—a decision that caused his resignation from the leadership of the parliamentary Labour Party—

and British intervention in Russia after the Bolshevik revolution. Between January and November 1924 he was prime minister of a minority government that depended upon the support of the Liberal Party. In 1929 he again became prime minister in an administration that was overwhelmed by the Depression. Faced with a cabinet hopelessly divided over domestic economic policy, particularly unemployment (q.v.), MacDonald decided to enter into a coalition with the Conservatives to form a "National" government in August 1931; this bitterly denounced decision adversely colored MacDonald's reputation down to the late 1970s. MacDonald's career was the basis for a novel by Howard Spring, *Fame Is the Spur* (1940), which deals with a politician who begins by dedicating his life to the working-class (q.v.) struggle but is corrupted by the trappings of political power. It was made into a film in 1947. (*See also* British Labour Party)

MALON, BENOÎT (1841-1893) French socialist theorist, Malon was born at Précieux, Loire. He worked as a laborer, a dyer and a shepherd. He was self-educated and joined the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). As a parliamentary representative for Seine department, he opposed peace with Germany in 1870 and participated in the Paris Commune (q.v.). In 1885 he founded the influential journal *Revue socialiste*. Malon's socialism was an eclectic blend of various French activists and thinkers including Babeuf, Condorcet, Comte, and Saint-Simon (q.v.), that stressed morality and humanitarianism. He and his followers promoted a gradualist approach to the achievement of economic and social reforms through legislative change and they were an important influence on Jean Jaurès and Alexandre Millerand (qq.v.). (*See also* Revisionism)

MALTA LABOUR PARTY (MLP) The MLP was formed in 1920. Despite attracting 22 percent of the vote for the legislative assembly in 1921, its support fell over the next twenty years. The MLP adopted its present title in 1945. After its election victory, it formed a government from October 1947 to September 1950 under Paul Boffa. In October 1949 the MLP split with Boffa who formed a moderate Independent Labour Party that lasted until 1953. The MLP was in power under Dominic Mintoff (who was leader until 1984) from 1955 to 1962 and again from 1971 to 1987. The MLP claimed a membership of 30,000 in 1987. It has been a full member of the

Socialist International (q.v.) since 1955. The MLP is strongly anti-imperialist and considers itself to be a bridge between Europe and the Arab world. In 1996 it attracted 50.7 per cent of the vote in the national elections.

MANIFESTO OF THE SIXTY The Manifesto of the Sixty was issued by some of the followers of Pierre-Joseph Proudhon in 1864. It asserted that although the French Revolution of 1789 had won political equality, capitalism, reinforced by the parliamentary system, denied the working class (q.v.) economic equality. The manifesto argued that the working class needed to be represented by other working-class men who alone would truly represent their own interests. In 1863 this group unsuccessfully sponsored three working-class candidates for election to parliament. Proudhon reacted to the manifesto by writing *De la capacité politique des classes ouvrières* (On the Political Capacity of the Working-Classes). (*See also* Pierre-Joseph Proudhon)

MANN, TOM (1856-1941) Tom Mann was one of the leaders of organized labor in England and a radical political activist who operated internationally. He was born near Coventry; his mother died when he was two years old. He received only three years of formal schooling. His working life began at the age of nine. He was employed as a pit worker at the age of 10 and was apprenticed as a toolmaker in 1872. Mann benefited directly from the successful campaign by the Tyneside Nine Hours League and used the shorter working day for further study. He also concluded that labor unions alone could not achieve such victories. In 1881 he joined the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and read *Progress and Poverty* by Henry George (q.v.), but rejected its central idea of the single tax. Mann was a friend of Engels (q.v.) and Marx's daughter Eleanor. These friendships strengthened Mann's political radicalism, as was shown by his leading role in the campaign for an eight-hour working day in the late 1880s. In 1885 he joined the Social Democratic Federation and in February 1894 he became secretary of the Independent Labour Party (qq.v.), a post he held until January 1897. In 1895 he stood unsuccessfully for election to the House of Commons and in 1896 helped to organize the London conference of the Second International (q.v.). In 1889 he became the first president of the London Dockers' Union, a position he held until 1893. He was one of the main founders of the International

Federation of Ship, Dock, and River Workers in 1896, which became the International Transport Workers' Federation and the Workers' Union in 1898. Mann visited the United States twice, in 1886 and 1913. Between 1901 and 1910 he lived in New Zealand and then Australia (and briefly South Africa), where he was active in organized labor and in the Socialist Party of Victoria. He returned to Britain a committed supporter of syndicalism. In 1916 he joined the British Socialist Party (q.v.) and was a founding member of the British Communist Party in 1920. (*See also* Syndicalism)

MARX, KARL HEINRICH (1818-1883) Karl Marx is the towering figure in the history of socialism. No other socialist thinker has had the influence of Marx, although the nature of his legacy has been hotly disputed by his followers since the 1890s. Born in Trier, Germany, Marx was descended from a family that had produced many rabbis, but he was baptized as a Protestant. In 1837 he began studying philosophy, which led to his being awarded a doctorate on the Democritean and Epicurean theory of nature in ancient Greek philosophy from the University of Berlin in 1841. In 1842 he became editor of the radical newspaper *Rheinische Zeitung* (Rhine Newspaper) and wrote some articles on poverty that were published in January 1843. Two months later the newspaper was shut down by the authorities. After refusing a post with the Prussian civil service, Marx moved to Paris where he met Proudhon, Bakunin, and Engels (qq.v.). In 1844 he wrote the work that would be later known as *Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts* and began his lifelong collaboration with Engels. In January 1845 he and his family were expelled from France for his radical writings. They moved to Belgium where he and Engels founded the Communist Correspondence Committee, which was mostly made up of German émigrés; at its first congress in London, the committee renamed itself the Communist League. It was the league that commissioned Marx and Engels to write the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, which appeared in February 1848. After his radical activities in Germany in 1848 Marx was expelled in 1849 and moved to Paris and then London, where he remained for the rest of his life, often living in great poverty despite regular financial help from Engels and occasional help from others. In London, Marx studied, conducted research into economics and history in the British Museum (now the British Library), and engaged in radical politics. He was the European correspondent for the *New York Tribune*

between 1851 and 1862 and wrote articles on the Crimean War and the American Civil War. In 1852 he formally dissolved the Communist League. In September 1864 he was invited to attend the inaugural meeting of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.), but soon became its leading figure. In 1871 he was accused in France of being the instigator of the Paris Commune (q.v.), a claim he denied in a letter to *The Times* of London. In 1875 his application for British citizenship was rejected.

Apart from the *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Marx's main writings were *The Class Struggles in France, 1848-1850* (1850), *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte* (1852), *Grundrisse der Kritik der politischen ökonomie* (Outline of a Critique of Political Economy, 1857) and *Das Kapital* (Capital) which was published as three volumes in 1867, 1885, and 1895.

The roots of Marx's socialism were in the millenarianism of the Old Testament, the tradition of egalitarianism (q.v.) spawned by the French Revolution, the middle-class rationalism of the Enlightenment, German philosophical idealism (specifically as espoused by Hegel and the dialectic), political economy (the original title of the modern discipline of economics) and the growth of the working-class movements such as Chartism and labor unions (qq.v.).

The main elements of Marx's thought may be approached under six headings: class struggle, historical materialism, alienation, the labor theory of value, dialectical materialism and communism. Marx saw society as made up of classes that were defined in terms of the means of production—particularly the extent to which certain classes monopolized the ownership of the means of production—and used that power to exploit other classes, which gave rise to incessant struggle between the classes. Historical materialism was an interpretation of history that saw it as largely a predictable, evolutionary process reflecting changes in the nature of the means of production. Alienation, a feature more of Marx's earlier writings than his later ones (which tended to stress the economic exploitation of class relations), referred to the estrangement of most workers under capitalism from the control of the process of work and their products of their labor.

The labor theory of value was an idea Marx took from the English economist Ricardo. It held that labor was the source of all wealth. Marx used the theory to argue that the excess of "surplus" produced by the worker under capitalism was confiscated by the owners of the means of production. In practice, this meant that the

worker was not fairly paid for the value of his or her labor.

Dialectical materialism was an idea based on the German philosopher Hegel. The dialectical part refers to argument or discussion and the materialism part refers to a theory of existence which holds that everything that exists is material in that it occupies some amount of space at some time. The term *dialectical materialism* was not actually used by Marx himself, but was coined by the Russian Marxist theorist and codifier of Marxism (q.v.), Georgi V. Plekhanov (1857-1918) in the late 1890s. In dialectical materialism conflict between opposites (*thesis* and *antithesis*) leads to a new outcome (*synthesis*). Marx applied the idea of dialectical materialism to historical and social developments, but his followers later applied it to other fields of knowledge. Communism was the state of society in which the means of production had been taken over by the proletariat. It presupposed that capitalism had collapsed through its own internal contradictions or through violent revolution. Private property was abolished as was the social division of labor based on social class and its economic exploitation. Communism would enable a wealthier, better-educated society in which each individual would be able to achieve his or her full potential and want would be eliminated. This summary gives only a cursory impression of the breadth and complexity of Marx's thought and the way in which his ideas were interrelated. Because much of Marx's works remained incomplete at his death, others, such as Karl Kautsky (q.v.) and G. V. Plekhanov, attempted to present his thought in a more coherent way than appeared in Marx's manuscripts, many of which did not become available until long after his death.

Marx left behind a vast, complex, and ambiguous legacy that gave rise to Marxism (q.v.). He had little direct influence in his lifetime, but the rise of communism gave his ideas, or at least as interpreted by Lenin (q.v.), a world prominence that they probably would not otherwise have enjoyed. His ideas were important for continental socialism, but much less so for English-speaking countries. The ambiguity of his legacy is important to appreciate because there is evidence that toward the end of his life Marx considered that the economic and social revolution he envisaged could be achieved by peaceful means in the more industrially advanced and politically progressive parts of Western Europe.

Brilliant as his ideas were, they were not without problems of their own. For instance, after the 1840s Marx never renewed his knowledge of British manufacturing firsthand. He therefore failed to

appreciate its development and the diversification of occupations and skills. He saw the development of craft unionism and the growth of a labor aristocracy as a backward step, not as a reflection of changed industrial conditions. As a result, Marxism was frozen in the memory of the misery of industrial Britain in the 1840s; ironically, this helped Marxism to seem more relevant for less developed economies. A second important difficulty concerned his view of the working class (q.v.). Marx emphasized what its members had in common and was inclined to ignore those things that divided them such as religion, ethnicity and skill levels. Marx was a remarkable analyst and system maker on the world scale. But as in the case of all such thinkers, it is important to distinguish him from his interpreters. (*See also* Communism, Leninism, Marxism)

MARXISM A general term meaning literally "followers of Karl Marx" that has nevertheless encompassed a great range of meanings. European socialist parties, particularly the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.), drew on the theories of Marx as interpreted by Engels (q.v.), but these parties were reformist, not revolutionary, in practice. Lenin (q.v.) extracted the revolutionary aspects from Marx and created Marxist-Leninism, which became the basis for a dictatorship in the name of socialism. In contrast to the doctrinaire oppression of Marxist-Leninism and other antidemocratic variants of communism such as Maoism, the New Left (q.v.) sought to create a humane version of Marxism. This diversity in Marxism arose not just because of different political environments—notably in societies that had democratic traditions and those that did not—but also because of the ambiguities in Marx's writings that provided support for a variety of interpretations.

For most social democratic parties since 1945 there was an electoral imperative to distance themselves from Marxism which was equated with communism (q.v.), totalitarianism, and repression. Accordingly, references to Marxism in the statement of principles of the social democratic parties were removed in Austria in 1958, Germany and the Netherlands in 1959, France in 1972, Italy in 1978, Spain in the early 1980s, and Portugal in 1986. (*See also* Communism, Friedrich Engels, Karl Johann Kautsky, Lenin, Karl Heinrich Marx)

MAURITIUS LABOR PARTY (MLP) The MLP was formed in February 1936 by Dr. Maurice Curé, a medical practitioner, and was

based on the Hindu community. Its first goal was the extension of the suffrage to the working class (qq.v.). In the 1950s the MLP became less left-wing and abandoned its policy advocating the nationalization (q.v.) of the sugar industry. Mauritius was given its independence by the United Kingdom in 1968. The MLP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1969. The MLP enjoyed electoral victories in 1948, 1959, 1963, and 1967 but suffered from internal dissension after 1976, which contributed to its loss of power in 1982. The MLP suffered splits in 1986 and 1987. In the elections of December 1995, it won government in alliance with the Mauritius Militant Movement.

MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST POLITICAL PARTIES Information about the membership of social democratic/socialist parties first becomes available from the 1890s and becomes more generally available from the early 1900s. Excluding cases of political repression, the membership statistics show a substantial growth from this time to 1913 and on to 1920; one notable exception was the Socialist Party of America (q.v.), whose membership declined sharply after 1912. The growth pattern of the individual membership of social democratic/socialist parties has usually paralleled that of the labor unions (q.v.). For some parties, notably the British Labour Party and the Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party (qq.v.), individual membership figures were included with those of trade unions and cooperatives before 1930. In many of the countries for which the data are available, membership reached a peak during the 1950s or 1960s and then tended to level off or decline.

Although much scarcer, it is information on the composition of the membership of the social democratic/socialist parties that is of even greater interest, for it shows clearly where the strengths and weaknesses of political socialism lay. Data on the pre-1940 period are available for the parties of Norway (1887 to 1971), the Netherlands (1909), Bulgaria (1909), Austria (1929), and Germany (1930). Making allowances for the differences in dates and countries, and the different occupational classifications used, a distinct pattern becomes apparent in regard to the social groups that were attracted to these parties. In the main, the principal groups represented in these parties were urban industrial workers and tradesmen, males and the better-educated. The most notably absent group was agriculture (q.v.). Although the growth in middle class

representation in these parties has been cause for comment (and even concern) since 1960, it is evident from these earlier data that the educated and the middle class have always had an important presence in the social democratic/socialist parties. For example, a sample of 140 members of the leadership of the Norwegian Labor Party from 1887 to 1903 shows that 34 percent were from the liberal professions or were employees in the higher levels of the private sector. Since the 1960s there has been a general decline in the proportion of manual or blue-collar employees in the membership of social democratic/socialist parties. Because this decline has often been faster than in the whole labor force, the figures have been used as evidence for working class (q.v.) disenchantment with social democratic/socialist parties. For instance, in the French Socialist Party (q.v.), the proportion of manual/blue-collar members fell from 44 to 19 percent between 1951 and 1973. Yet over the same period, the proportion of manual/blue-collar members in the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.) only fell from 40 to 37 percent.

The members of these parties have also displayed remarkable endurance under the most difficult conditions. For instance, it has been estimated that when the German Social Democratic Party was re-established in 1946, about 75 percent of its 701,448 members had been members before its suppression in 1933. When the Czech Social Democratic Party was reformed in 1990, about 20 percent of its 11,000 had been members before 1948 before the imposition of one-party communist rule. (*See also* Agriculture, Leadership/Rank and File Tensions, Middle Class, Working Class; Tables 5 to 9, Statistical Appendix)

MENSHEVIKS *Menshevik* is a Russian term meaning "a member of the minority." It was originally applied to members of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party who supported economism (q.v.) and a gradual approach to the introduction of socialism. They were a distinct faction in the party after a split at the party's second conference in London in 1903, when they then constituted a minority as opposed to the Bolsheviks, who were then the majority. Unlike Lenin (q.v.), the Mensheviks were prepared to admit individuals as members who were not full-time, professional activists. They had the support of August Bebel and Karl Kautsky (qq.v.). The leaders of the Mensheviks were L. Martov, G. W. Plekhanov, P. D. Axelrod, and Leon Trotsky. Most of the Mensheviks were expelled by the Bolsheviks in their reorganization

of the party in 1912. They opposed Lenin's idea of the dictatorship of the proletariat. After the March 1917 revolution in Russia the Mensheviks enjoyed considerable support in the soldiers' and workers' councils and tried to achieve unity among the socialist groups. One of their number, Alexander Feodorovich Kerensky (q.v.), led a provisional government. After the Bolsheviks seized power in November 1917, the Mensheviks became the effective opposition. But they were progressively removed from positions of influence and were declared illegal in 1921. (*See also* Economism, Alexander Feodorovich Kerensky, Lenin, Leninism)

MIDDLE CLASS Often referred to as the *bourgeoisie*, the middle class occupies a paradoxical place in the history of socialism. The term *class* as a label for social rank entered the major European languages during the last half of the eighteenth century and in English by 1767. The plural term *middle classes* appeared in print in England in 1797 and in the singular form in 1812, but it did not become dominant until after 1840. Identified by Marx (q.v.) with the owners of property, the middle class were identified as the natural enemies of the *proletariat,* or working class. It must be appreciated that in the 1840s these terms had vastly different meanings than they do today. The middle class was proportionately much smaller than at present and the working class much larger; for instance, in 1911 only 18.7 percent of the employed labor force in Britain worked in white-collar occupations. There were also far greater disparities in income and wealth (q.v.).

The problem for the growth of socialism was that education (q.v.) and organizational expertise in the nineteenth century were largely in the hands of the middle class. It therefore needed much assistance from the middle class to grow. It was no accident that the ideas and writings that contributed so much to the development of socialism in the nineteenth century came almost exclusively from sympathetic members of the middle class and even the wealthy. A sample of the leadership of the Norwegian Labor Party (q.v.) between 1887 and 1903 found that 34 percent came from liberal professions or highly-placed white-collar members of the private sector. (*See also* Membership of Social Democratic/Socialist Political Parties, Working Class)

MILLERAND, ALEXANDRE (1859-1943) Born in Paris, Millerand was a leading exponent and practitioner of evolutionary socialism. A

lawyer, he was elected to the French Chamber of Deputies in 1885, where he led an independent group of socialists. His acceptance of the position of minister for commerce and industry in the government of Waldeck-Rousseau in 1899 caused an uproar among French socialists and in the Second International (q.v.), which condemned socialists accepting positions in bourgeois governments in 1905. Unfortunately this controversy overshadowed Millerand's considerable achievements as a government minister. He used his position to introduce the first effective French legislation to restrict working hours—the previous legislation was not enforced—from 11 hours in 1899, to 10½ in 1901 and to 10 hours from 1903; to actively encourage government labor inspectors to investigate complaints by labor unions (q.v.); to set up a system of labor councils made up of employer and employee representatives (*Conseils du Travail*); to enforce the payment of accident insurance premiums by employers, not employees; and to improve conditions for the employees of successful government contractors for public works and supplies.

A nationalist and a republican as well as a socialist, Millerand wanted to develop the public ownership of large-scale production and to improve the distribution of wealth (q.v.). He saw socialism as an inevitable trend in social development and believed that socialists should play an active role in government, including working with bourgeois governments if necessary. His efforts to have this position adopted as general policy by socialists failed in the wake of their revulsion against politics generally following the Dreyfus Affair in 1897. Millerand and the trade unions disagreed over his efforts to give them the legal status of persons so they could be parties to contracts; the trade unions feared they might be destroyed by litigation, especially following the Taff Vale Case in Britain in 1901, which made them liable for potentially huge damages if they engaged in picketing. They were also determined to preserve their independence from all forms of political control and so clashed with Millerand's plans for a labor court based on the New Zealand law of 1894. Millerand published a collection of his speeches as a book, *Le Socialisme Réformiste français* (French Reformist Socialism), in 1903. He was formally expelled from the ranks of the socialists in 1905. He served as minister for works in 1909-10, of war in 1912-13, and as president of the French Republic (1920-24), by which time he had become part of the political right-wing. (*See also* Revisionism)

MILITANT TENDENCY A cover name for the Revolutionary Socialist League, a well-organized, disciplined left-wing group that began to infiltrate the British Labour Party (q.v.) in the early 1970s. Claiming to follow Trotskyist ideology, it became the dominant group in the council of the city of Liverpool. Two Labour members of parliament were among its adherents. Although declared a party within a party (and therefore illegal under the constitution of the British Labour Party), it was not banned until 1983 and 200 of its leaders and supporters were expelled in 1985 and 1986. At the time of its banning, the Militant Tendency had 8,000 members. (*See also* British Labour Party, Campaign for Labour Party Democracy)

MILL, JOHN STUART (1806-1873) English philosopher and a founder of the modern tradition of liberalism (q.v.), Mill's contribution to socialism came chiefly through his very influential book *Principles of Political Economy* (1848), which made a clear distinction between production and distribution. Although Mill saw production as being constrained by economic laws and other impediments, he believed that the imbalances these barriers created could be redressed by intervention in the distribution process. thereby opening the possibility for society to expropriate and redistribute the wealth (q.v.) created by production. He saw the existing distribution of wealth as being set by the "laws and customs of society," not by iron-clad economic laws. Mill's views were criticized by both conservatives and radicals for overestimating the extent to which society was prepared to redistribute wealth. At the same time, he introduced a more optimistic view into economics than that engendered by Malthus and Ricardo. His *Principles of Political Economy* was highly successful and went through seven editions during his lifetime. Mill came to adopt mildly socialist views. He believed that social behavior could be changed and that the working class could avoid the population trap of Malthus and be educated to have fewer children of their own will. (*See also* Liberalism, Wealth)

MITTERRAND, FRANÇOIS MAURICE MARIE (1916-1996) The leading moderate French socialist of the post-1945 period, Mitterrand was born in Jarnac, Charente, eastern France; his father was a railroad station master who later inherited a vinegar distillery. From his father Mitterrand imbibed a sense of economic injustice, particularly over the uneven distribution of wealth (q.v.) in society.

Otherwise, Mitterrand was a political paradox. Although firmly linked with democratic socialism from 1946, he flirted with fascist organizations in the mid-1930s. He was drafted into the army in 1938 and was wounded and captured by the Germans during their invasion of France in 1940. He escaped and worked on the administration of veterans' affairs with the Vichy government in 1942. He formed a resistance group in 1943. He qualified as a lawyer and was elected to the chamber of deputies in 1946. He held ministerial positions in nine Fourth Republic governments and emerged as a leader .of the of non-Marxist socialists. He was minister of justice in the government of Guy Mollet (q.v.) between 1955 and 1957. He first stood as a socialist presidential candidate in December 1965 and received 44.8 percent of the vote in the second ballot. He became president of the *Convention des Institutions Républicaines* in 1970, a non-Marxist socialist group that merged with the *Parti Socialiste (Section française de l'international ouvrière)* in June 1971 to create the *Parti socialistc* (Socialist Party) (PS). Mitterrand became the first secretary of the PS and succeeded in molding a united left-wing party from varied groups that was able both to work in coalition with the communists and also able to supplant them as the dominant party of the French left. In May 1981 he was elected president, and the PS won power in its own right for the first time in the chamber of deputies. His administration embarked on the nationalization (q.v.) of industry and banks and an expansionist economic program, but these policies had to be moderated in the face of economic difficulties, particularly unemployment, unfavorable balances of trade, and inflation. In foreign policy, Mitterrand maintained independence while remaining part of the Western bloc and suspicious of the Soviet Union. He used his position between March 1986 and June 1988 to weaken his political opponents when he was forced to share power with the Gaullist coalition led by Jacques Chirac. Mitterrand ceased to be president of France in May 1995. (*See also* French Socialist Party)

MOLLET, GUY ALCIDE (1905-1975) Born in Flers, Normandy, to working-class parents (his father was a weaver), Mollet became a school teacher and joined the Socialist Party in 1923. During World War II he served in the Resistance and rose to the rank of captain. In 1946 he was elected as deputy and in 1946 he became secretary-general of the Socialist Party, a position he held until 1969. He was

minister in five governments between 1946 to 1958 and was prime minster from 1956 to 1957. For a socialist, Mollet's record in government was contradictory in that he was part in the decision-making process that saw (1) an increased military effort by France against Arab nationalists in Algeria and (2) France's participation with the United Kingdom and Israel in the invasion of Egypt in 1956, but he also granted some autonomy to France's colonies south of the Sahara. (*See also* Vincent Auriol, French Socialist Party)

MONGOLIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (MSDP) The MSDP was formed in March 1990. In September 1992 it was accepted as a consultative member of the Socialist International (q.v.), which sent a fact-finding mission to Mongolia in 1993. The membership of the MSDP has been variously estimated in 1992-93 at between 10,000 and 20,000; the membership has been described as drawn from the educated sections of Mongolian society. About a quarter are women.

MORRIS, WILLIAM (1834-1896) Artist, designer, poet, writer, and unwilling political leader, Morris was one of the leaders of English socialism in the late nineteenth century. Born into a wealthy family in Walthamstow near London, he was much influenced by the ideas of John Ruskin (1819-1900) and was entranced by an idealistic vision of a pre-industrial world that provided a high level of job satisfaction in craftsmanship and cooperative living. He loathed violence and wanted to restore to work the idea (as he saw it) of craftsmanship and the satisfaction of skill, as opposed to the tedium and low skill inherent in factory work for most employees. Disillusioned with its doctrinaire leadership, he and his followers left the Social Democratic Federation (q.v.) in 1884 and formed the Socialist League which was gradually taken over by anarchists (q.v.); Morris left the league in 1890. Ironically, his popular utopian novel, *News from Nowhere*, foretold a society without government institutions. He saw art and education as means of improving society. (*See also* Utopian Socialism)

MOVEMENT OF THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT (MRL) The MRL (*Movimento de la Izquierda Revolucionaria*) was formed in Bolivia in September 1971 from a number of political groups, notably the Christian Democratic Party, which opposed the coup against the left-wing president Gonález. The MRL is a

noncommunist Marxist party that includes left-wing Catholics. MRL participation in government was interrupted in the early 1980s by coups. It has been a consultative member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since about 1987 and a full member since about 1992. (*See also* Marxism)

MÜLLER, HERMANN (1876-1931) German social democratic politician, Müller was born in Mannheim into a middle-class (q.v.) family. He first came to prominence in the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) when he was made editor of one of its many newspapers, the *Görlitze Zeitung* in 1889. A moderate, he was elected to the party's executive in 1906 and in 1914 took part in a mission intended to ward off the imminent war (q.v.) with France. In 1916 he was elected to the *Reichstag* (parliament) and after the fall of the imperial government, he was made foreign minister of the government of Gustav Adolf Bauer (q.v.). In this capacity, he had the thankless task of signing the Versailles Treaty for Germany. He replaced Bauer as chancellor in March 1920 and held the post until June 1920. He also became party leader in 1920, but could achieve little until the 1928 elections, which gave the party the opportunity to become the largest group in a coalition government.

Müller served as chancellor from June 1928 to March 1930. His administration was responsible for the reduction of reparation payments and the introduction of a program to rebuild the German navy. Otherwise, Müller's term, was engulfed by the Depression. Germany was severely affected by the Depression, which sent its unemployment rate up to 44 percent by 1932, compared to 22 percent for the United Kingdom and 25 percent for the United States. Müller's government floundered on the issue of maintaining unemployment benefits—against those who wanted them reduced—in a crisis that was parallelled by the crisis of the Ramsay MacDonald (q.v.) government. Müller also played a role in international socialism and served on the executive of the Labor and Social International (q.v.) from 1925 to 1931. (*See also* Gustav Adof Bauer, German Social Democratic Party)

MUSSOLINI, BENITO (1883-1944) Although best known as the founder of Italian fascism, Mussolini spent his early political career as a socialist. Born in Dovia, his father supported Bakunin (q.v.) and the need for the violent overthrow of the political system. In 1908 he was jailed for ten days for participating in rural agitation. He edited

three socialist newspapers, including *Avanti* (Forward), the official socialist publication between 1908 and 1914. In 1911 he led the opposition to Italy's attack on Libya and was jailed for five months for urging resistance to the government. Mussolini was expelled from the Italian Socialist Party in November 1914 for agitating for Italy to join the Allied side in World War I; the party's official policy was opposed to the war. (*See also* Italian Socialist Party)

MURAYAMA, TOMIICHI (1924-) Japanese socialist politician. Murayama was born in Oita, southern Japan, the fifth of eleven children. His father was a poor fisherman. He was educated at Meiji university and gained his first political experience in local government in 1955. He became an official of the seamen's union and was elected to parliament for the Democratic Socialist Party in 1972. In June 1994 he became prime minister of a coalition government after corruption scandals in the Liberal Democratic Party government, the first time a socialist had occupied the post since 1947. As such he was unable to do little to implement the policies of his party, namely opposition to the self-defense forces, use of the national anthem and the flag, the American alliance and economic deregulation. He tried to issue an unequivocal apology for the atrocities committed by Japan's military forces during World War II, but was forced to water down the statement. He resigned as prime minister on January 5, 1996. His term in office was notable for the debt crisis among Japan's banks, the Kobe earthquake, and his personal frugality and incorruptibility. (*See also* Japanese Socialist Party)

MUTUALISM Mutualism was an important concept in French socialist thought in the nineteenth century. The idea of mutualism seems to have originated with the eighteenth-century French philosopher Condorcet who used the term *mutualité* to describe a mutual association for the working class to provide protection from down-turns in the trade cycle. Charles Fourier (q.v.) used the term *mutualisme* in the 1820s. "Mutualists" was also the name of a secret society among Lyon textile workers in the 1830s. Fourier's followers had been active in Lyon. The term *mutualist* was later applied to the followers of the anarchist theorist Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (q.v.). Their thought emphasized producer cooperatives (q.v.) as a means to regenerate society and opposition to political revolution. (*See also* Pierre-Joseph Proudhon)

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NARAYAN, JAYAPRAKASH (1902-1979) Indian socialist and author, also known as Jai Prakash Narain, Narayan was born in Sitab Diyara in Bihar into a middle-class family. He attended Patna University before abandoning his studies to join the noncooperation movement directed at British rule in India. An outstanding student, he was awarded a scholarship in 1922 to study in the United States. He supported himself with menial jobs and studied at the Universities of Iowa, Chicago, Wisconsin, California, and Ohio until 1929. He became acquainted with Marxism (q.v.) and socialism at the University of Wisconsin. After his return to India he was made professor of sociology at Benares Hindu University, but left after being offered the head of the labor research department of the Indian National Congress (q.v.). In 1931 he helped found the Bihar Socialist Party. In 1932 he was made acting general secretary of the Indian National Congress and was jailed for his participation in Gandhi's civil disobedience campaign against the British. Released in 1933, he was prime mover in the formation of the Congress Socialist Party. In 1936 he published *Why Socialism?* He was jailed again in 1939, escaped in November 1942, was recaptured in October 1943, and was not released until April 1946.

Narayan envisaged socialism as being based on the nationalization (q.v.) of main industry and improving the lot of the Indian peasants through land ownership. He supported large-scale industrialization under government control as a means of reducing unemployment (q.v.). He was one of the leaders of the Indian delegation to the first Asian Socialist Conference (q.v.) in 1953 and also attended its second gathering in 1956. In April 1954 he left party politics because of his support for the *Bhoodan* (land-gift) movement. He went on to write *A Plea for the Reconstruction of Indian Policy* (1959) and *Swaraj and the People* (1961). Although Narayan never held any public office, he remained an influential figure. His last national role was as leader of the fight against corruption under Indira Gandhi for which he was again jailed. (*See also* Indian Socialist Party)

NASH, WALTER (1882-1968) New Zealand labor politician, Nash was born in Kidderminster, England, where he studied law and worked as a merchant. He emigrated to New Zealand in 1909 and was an early member of the New Zealand Labour Party (NZLP). He

became a member of the national executive of the NZLP in 1919 and its secretary in 1922, a position he held until 1932. In 1929 he was elected to the house of representatives and served as minister for finance and customs in the ministry of Michael Joseph Savage. As minister for social security in 1938, he played an important role in creating the basis of the welfare state (q.v.) in New Zealand. He served as prime minister from 1957 to 1960, but his government was defeated by his attempt to extend social welfare by increased taxation (q.v.). (*See also* New Zealand Labour Party, Michael Joseph Savage)

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NDP) The NDP was formed in July 1978 and has been the ruling party of Egypt since 1979. It was a member of the League of African Democratic Socialist Parties in 1987 and has been a full member of the Socialist International (qq.v.) since 1992.

NATIONAL LIBERATION PARTY (NLP) The NLP (*Partido de Liberación Nacional*) was formed in Costa Rica in October 1951 based on the membership of the *Partido Demócrata Social* (Social Democratic Party), which had been set up in 1948. Jóse Figueres of the NLP was elected president in 1953 and held the post until 1958. The NLP was the source of presidents between 1962 and 1966 and 1970 to 1978. In 1982 the former general secretary of the NLP, Alberto Monge Álvarez, was elected president. In 1984 the NLP claimed a membership of 367,000, and since about 1987 it has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) .

NATIONALISM Nationalism fits uneasily into the history of socialism because socialists tend to see social divisions as based on class rather than nation or ethnicity. The internationalist socialist ideal expressed by organizations such as the International Workingmen's Association and the Second International (qq.v.) was often at odds with the realities of conflicts based on nationalism. Nationalism, like war (q.v.), was often regarded by socialists as a product of class conflict within capitalism and a means to divide and divert the attention of the working class from fundamental social and economic change. A resolution to this effect was passed by Second International at its congress at Brussels in 1891 when it was asked by an American Jewish organization for a policy response to anti-Semitism.

Nationalism was a particular problem for the Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.) because of the many ethnic groups that made up the pre-1918 Austro-Hungarian empire. In 1897 the party adopted a federal structure designed to accommodate representation from Germans, Czechs, Poles, Slovenes, Ruthenians, and Italians; each group was given autonomy under a single executive. This compromise did not satisfy the Czechs, who wanted their own party. They tried to get the Second International to approve this action in 1907 and 1910, but it would not, and the Czechs formed their own party in 1911.

Within the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) national pressures were also evident from many Poles who lived within the pre-1918 boundaries of Germany. A Polish Socialist Party was formed in 1892, but its formation was opposed by the German Social Democratic Party which believed that the Poles' best protection was to stay within a unified German framework.

In Bulgaria, the Social Democratic Party split into a "Broad" Party comparable with the revisionists of Western Europe, which recognized nationalism, and a "Narrow" Party which concentrated on the class struggle. In the United Kingdom before 1914, there was little interest in foreign policy in the British Labour Party (q.v.) beyond criticizing military expenditure as socially wasteful. Its concerns were those of its own working class. The complexities of the relationship between nationalism and socialism were also shown by the case of the Jews (q.v.). In Asia nationalism and socialism reinforced each other in the post-1945 period in their opposition to imperialism. (*See also* Imperialism, Internationalism)

NATIONALIZATION Nationalization refers to the acquisition by the government of private property with or without compensation. The term was first used in the United Kingdom to refer to the acquisition of large estates in the 1870s. By the end of the nineteenth century the idea of nationalization was widely adopted by social democratic/socialist parties as a means of ending exploitation of employees and improving the distribution of wealth (q.v.). Attitudes to nationalization differed greatly within socialism. In *Das Kapital*, Marx used the term *socialization* to describe the general trend toward monopoly and concentration of ownership of the means of production, distribution, and exchange. The term was later taken by parts of organized labor to press demands for giving employees a direct say in the operation of a nationalized industry, enterprise, or

service. The preamble to the Erfurt Program of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) discussed nationalization but did not include it among its specific demands for reform. The party, following Kautsky (q.v.), wanted to capture political power first and then introduce nationalization. Without political power, it was believed that nationalization would simply strengthen the reactionary German government that was in power up to November 1918.

At its London conference in 1896 the Second International (q.v.) discussed a report of its economic and industrial commission that advocated the universal "socialization" of the means of production, transport, distribution, and exchange, and their control by a democratic organization in the interests of the whole society. Yet another strand of socialist opinion was held by the Fabians, who were inclined to support nationalization because it would improve economic efficiency. In contrast, the Independent Labour Party (q.v.) favored nationalization because it would help the poor and unskilled among the working class (q.v.). Robert Blatchford (q.v.) advocated collective ownership not just because it would lead to the more equitable distribution of goods and services but also to higher production.

Another aspect to nationalization concerned what form it would take. Although nationalization is generally associated with control by the central government following the early example of the Soviet Union, there was a widespread view throughout socialism that control of nationalized industries and services should include local governments as well as the cooperative movement (q.v.). On July 31, 1920 an international socialist conference at Geneva, Switzerland, supported gradual nationalization with compensation for owners to be paid from taxation (q.v.). Its administration would be shared by national and local governments, and the cooperative movement. Pressure to give employees a say in running nationalized industries and services came from organized labor and was especially strong in coal mining. In January 1917 the annual conference of the British Labour Party (q.v.) passed resolutions in favor of the nationalization of the railroads and coal mining. In 1919 this issue aroused considerable debate in Germany. It was opposed by the majority of the German Social Democratic Party, which feared that it would mean exploitation of the public through higher prices if agreed to. In the United Kingdom a royal commission into the coal industry under Sir John Sankey (1866-1948) supported the

principle of public ownership, and the miners being given a voice in the operations of the industry; dissenting reports were prepared by the representatives of the coal owners. It was against these general developments that a socialization objective was adopted by the British Labour Party and the Australian Labor Party (qq.v).

With the participation of socialist/social democratic parties in government, the issue of nationalization had to be faced in practical terms. In 1936 the government of Leon Blum (q.v.) succeeded in nationalizing the munitions industry, but this could have been justified more on the grounds of national interest than on support for socialist principles.

With the victory of these parties in elections in a number of countries immediately after World War II, nationalization moved from policy to implementation. The Austrian Social Democratic Workers'/Socialist Party (q.v.) attempted to nationalize industries in the early 1950s, but was prevented by the Soviet Union. After its victory in the 1945 elections the British Labour Party implemented a broad range of nationalization measures, including a national health service, the Bank of England, the coal industry, gas and electricity production and distribution and public transport.

Nationalization has been a contentious policy. For instance, the proposed nationalization of the banking industry by the Australian Labor Party aroused fears of job losses among the banks' employees, who campaigned against it and helped to bring down the Labor government in 1949. Nationalized industries have also been accused of being less efficiently run, employing too many people and being captive to trade unions. Finally, it should be noted that nationalization is not an idea peculiar to socialism and has been used to strengthen national sovereignty, as for example by Iran over its oil industry in 1951and most famously by Egypt over the Suez Canal in 1956. In Spain and Portugal, large state-owned enterprises were a feature of the fascist dictatorships of Franco and Salazar with the result that there was no commitment to nationalization by their respective socialist parties.

Since 1980 privatization—the selling of publicly owned assets, that is, the reverse of nationalization—has been used by social democratic governments (with the notable exception of France) as well as by conservative governments as a means of improving economic efficiency. In June 1982 the French Socialist government introduced a law that nationalized major firms in chemicals, electronics, metals, steel, electricity, space, and armaments, plus 36

banks and insurance companies. This program, which was the last general application of nationalization by a socialist/social democratic government in a large democracy, originated from the need to maintain the support of the French Communist Party, but was later used to rationalize and restructure these concerns. Both the Australian Labor Party, the Portuguese Socialist Party, and the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (qq.v.) have reduced the role of state-owned enterprises in the economy while in government. (*See also* Wealth, Taxation)

NEW DEMOCRATIC PARTY (NDP) The NDP was formed in 1961 in Canada by the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation (q.v.) and the trade unions. Now Canada's fourth largest political party, it is a broad-based social democratic party that supports economic planning, and social security and opposes nuclear weapons (q.v.). Between 1968 and 1988 its share of the vote in national elections varied from 15.4 to 20.4 percent. It enjoyed a surge of support in 1991 when it won government in Ontario and Saskatchewan, but its support slumped thereafter. Between 1989 and 1995 it was led by Audrey McLaughlin, the first woman to lead a notable political party in North America. In June 1997 it won 11 percent of the vote in the national elections (compared to only 6.6 per cent in 1993) under its leader Alexa McDonough. (*See also* Co-operative Commonwealth Federation)

NEW LEFT The New Left was a loose group of political movements that was originally formed by former members of Western communist parties who were disaffected by the violent Soviet suppression of the Hungarian uprising in 1956. They were also influenced by Marx's *Economic and Political Manuscripts of 1844*, of which a complete English translation was finally published in 1963. These works were interpreted as stressing the need for social commitment and seemed to show a more humanistic side to Marx's ideas. One of the founders of the New Left in Britain was the social historian Edward P. Thompson (1924-1993), author of *The Making of the English Working Class* (1963). The name New Left was taken from the journal *New Left Review*, which began in 1959 after the merger of the *New Reasoner* (founded by Thompson and John Seville in 1957) and *Universities and Left Review*. In contrast to the New Left, the "old" Left tended to cling to a doctrinaire form of Marxism (q.v.) as interpreted by Moscow. Although there were

important differences among the New Left, it was commonly held to be independent-minded, socially committed, and anti-American, particularly with respect to the deployment of nuclear weapons (q.v.) in Western Europe, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, and America's war in Vietnam.

In the United States, the New Left was more associated with the 1960s and the civil rights movement and opposition to the war in Vietnam. Its leading organization was the Students for a Democratic Society. In France and Germany, the New Left was at the forefront of massive protests in 1968, especially the disruption of universities. The violence of the era often led to repressive measures by those in authority. With the end of the Vietnam War in 1975, the New Left lost much of its momentum and the differences between it and the "old" Left became less obvious. The legacy of the New Left is hard to measure, but it can claim credit for focusing attention on social issues such as poverty, civil rights, the role of women (q.v.), and the dehumanizing effect of much assembly line work, that is, broadening the political agenda to include all aspects of society. Above all it offered a stimulating challenge to the complacent assumptions that underpinned institutions of all kinds. (*See also* Women)

NEW ZEALAND LABOUR PARTY (NZLP) The NZLP was founded in 1916. It has formed national governments in 1935-49, 1957-60, 1972-75, and 1984-1990. The first socialist organization in New Zealand was formed in 1902 by followers of Robert Blatchford (q.v.). Dissatisfaction with the Liberal Party led to the formation of a political labor league in 1904 by the trade unions based on the Australian modél. After 1907 New Zealand labor began to be influenced by the ideas of the Industrial Workers of the World (q.v.) from the United States. In 1910 the Labour Party was formed by moderate labor unions and renamed the United Labour Party in 1912. Militant labor formed the New Zealand Socialist Party and the Social Democratic Party (1913). But in 1913 the power of militants collapsed after strikes by longshoremen and miners were crushed.

The NZLP was formed at Wellington in July 1916 at a conference convened by the Social Democratic Party of which Peter Fraser was secretary. After gains at the 1931 elections, the NZLP became the main opposition party. Under the administrations of Michael Joseph Savage and Peter Fraser, the NZLP created a comprehensive welfare state (q.v.) between 1935 and 1949. Since

1950 the NZLP has had mixed fortunes. The government of Walter Nash lost power in 1960 over attempts to extend the welfare state by increased taxation. The governments of 1972-75 and 1984-90 were bedeviled by economic problems that had at their root the entry of the United Kingdom in the European Economic Community and the greatly increased difficulty of the entry of New Zealand agricultural products to the Western European market. The NZLP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1952. In 1982 the NZLP claimed a membership of 80,000. Left-wing dissatisfaction with the policies of the NZLP—mainly over its support for privatization—led to the formation of the New Labour Party in April 1989 which won 5.2 percent of the vote in the elections of 1990. In the national elections of October 1996 the NZLP won 37 out of 120 seats to become the second largest parliamentary party, but it was not included as a partner in the subsequent coalition government. It only attracted 28.2 percent of the vote in 1996 compared to 34.7 percent in 1993. (*See also* Peter Fraser, David Lange, Walter Nash, Michael Joseph Savage)

NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY (NLP) The NLP was officially founded at Arendal in August 1887 as the United Norwegian Labor Party (*Det forenede norske Arbeiderpartei*); for most of its life its official title has been the *Det Norke Arbeit*. It was the culmination of a series of developments within Norwegian organized labor beginning with the formation of a national printers' union in 1882, the first district trade union federation in 1883 (in Oslo), the establishment of a social democratic newspaper, *Vert Arbeit* (Our Work), in 1884 and the Social Democratic Association (*Socialdemokratisk Forening*) in Oslo in January 1885. The Social Democratic Association was influenced by Danish socialists and advocated the ten-hour working day and universal suffrage (q.v.). The Social Democratic Association assumed responsibility for the production of *Vert. Arbeid* and the leadership of the NLP. More intellectuals joincd the party, which adopted a program closely modeled on the Erfurt Program (q.v.) in 1891. The NLP participated in the Second International (q.v.) from 1889. There was a close relationship between the NLP and organized labor, particularly after the formation of the Norwegian Confederation of Trade Unions (*Landsorganisasjoine i Norge*) in 1899 although there was also strong support for liberalism (q.v.) among the working class (q.v.). The NLP contested its first election in 1894. In 1903 it established a

national youth (q v.) organization. The NLP supported education (q.v.) and culture not just to make it fit for government but also to convince the bourgeoisie of its responsibility.

During World War I the NLP moved to the left. It was a participant in the Zimmerwald Conference (q.v.) in 1915 and became a member of the Comintern (q.v.) in 1919, but its membership ceased when it refused to take direction from Moscow. In 1921 the NLP split between the social democrats and the communists, but was reunited as a party in 1927 at the urging of the labor unions. In January 1928 the NLP was able to form a government, but its support fell quickly because of its proposals to redistribute wealth (q.v.). In the aftermath of the Depression the NLP used support for popular measures like unemployment relief and assistance for farmers to divide the conservative parties and gain the support of the Agrarian Party to form a minority government in 1936 under Johan Nygaardsvold (1879-1952), a trade union leader who had worked on railroads in the United States. The NLP introduced a public works program, an old-age pension scheme, and extended unemployment insurance and factory legislation. In 1939 it adopted a program that advocated a planned economy and the gradual "socialization" of large-scale industry, banks, trade, and transportation. As a result of the Nazi invasion, the leadership of Norway's political parties fled to London and formed a government in exile in June 1940.

In May 1945 the government in exile led by Nygaardsvold returned, and the NLP won a majority in the October 1945 elections for the first time under the leadership of Einar Henry Gerhardsen, who had been released from a Nazi concentration camp. The NLP has been a member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1951. In 1956 it was responsible for the introduction of a national health program and in 1963 raised annual holidays from three to four weeks and reduced working hours. Between 1957 and 1989 support for the NLP among working-class voters fell from 76 to 47 percent. In 1976 the NLP claimed a total membership of 143,900, but this figure included organizations as well as individuals. There has also been significant support for other noncommunist socialist parties. The NLP has led minority governments for most of the post-1945 period: 1955 to 1963, 1963 to 1965, 1971 to 1972, 1973 to 1981, 1986 to 1989, and 1990 to date. The NLP supported Norway's membership the European Community in 1972, but the proposal was defeated in a national referendum and the government resigned. At

the national elections in September 1993, the NLP won 37 percent of the vote compared to 34.3 percent in 1989; over the same period support for the Socialist Left Party declined from 10.1 to 7.9 percent. In 1994 a conference of the NLP decided in favor of the membership of the European Union, but there was considerable rank and file opposition, which contributed to rejection of the idea by the electorate in a national referendum. (*See also* Einar Henry Gerhardsen)

NUCLEAR WEAPONS Nuclear weapons and socialists have had a complex relationship since 1945. In 1946 the British Labour Party (q.v.) government secretly embarked on a campaign to develop nuclear weapons. In the 1980s the French Socialist Party (q.v.) government began a neutron bomb program and continued the policy of the previous conservative governments to build nuclear submarines. With the outstanding exception of France, socialist opinion in most European countries turned against nuclear weapons as a deterrent to war (q.v.) during the 1950s. In 1960 the annual conference of the British Labour Party (q.v.) narrowly adopted a policy that rejected the use of nuclear weapons as the basis of national defense.

Hostility to nuclear weapons grew among European socialists, particularly among the left wing of the British Labour Party and the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.). A particular area of contention arose in the early 1980s over the deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles by the United States in Western Europe. Grassroots socialist opposition to nuclear weapons also drew support from the environment movement and the Green political parties. (*See also* Pacifism, Scandilux, War)

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ORWELL, GEORGE (1903-1950) George Orwell was the pseudonym of Eric Blair—one of the leading writers on socialism in the 1930s and 1940s. Born in India, he was educated at Eton. Between 1922 and 1928 he served in Burma as a policeman with the Indian Imperial Police. He fought with the republicans during the Spanish Civil War (q.v.) and he was badly wounded. He was commissioned by the Left Book Club (q.v.) to investigate social conditions in the industrial areas of England. His book, *The Road to Wigan Pier* (1937), was the result of his investigation and was one of the most

powerful modern cases for socialism. He also gave his views of Spanish left-wing politics in his *Homage to Catalonia* (1938). What distinguished Orwell's writings on socialism was his honesty, his appreciation of practical difficulties, and his fears of how socialism was being used to justify dictatorship and oppression. These concerns were made plain in his well-known works attacking the Soviet Union, *Animal Farm* (1946) and *1984* (1949). Orwell never lost sight of the need to reconcile any political ideology, including socialism, with human dignity and freedom. (*See also* Literature)

OWEN, ROBERT (1771-1858) Owen was a major figure in utopian socialism (q.v.). Born in Newtown, Montgomeryshire, Wales, he left school at nine and completed an apprenticeship as a draper. He then worked in London and Manchester (1787-88). He entered the cotton spinning industry in 1791 with a business partner. Bought out, he started a cotton spinning factory on his own, which prospered. In 1799 he and a partner bought the New Lanark mills near Glasgow, Scotland, from David Dale. Owen continued and greatly extended the tradition of philanthropy and educational reform that had been begun by Dale. New Lanark became an industrial showcase that attracted many visitors from Britain and other parts of Europe. In 1813 Owen published his best-known work, *A New View of Society*, which argued that a person's character was formed by his or her environment, explained the reforms of New Lanark, and advocated a national educational system, public works for the unemployed, and reform of the Poor Laws. In 1818 Owen presented a memorial to the Congress of Aix-la-Chapelle in which he urged that the governments of Europe should appoint a committee to visit his factory at New Lanark and use its lessons to place legal limits on the normal working hours in manufacturing in their countries; his initiative was ignored.

Although opposed to religion (q.v.), his main ideas, particularly those relating to communities, had their origins in Christian thought and practice. By the mid-1820s Owen had developed a theory of utopian socialism based on communities, social equality, and cooperation. To this end, in 1825 he bought the community of New Harmony, Indiana, from a German religious sect, the Rappites, a move that cost him most of his fortune. Owen was too autocratic and too paternal to become a direct leader of organized labor, but his many initiatives provided a focus for its activities, particularly the formation of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union in 1834

and the cooperative congresses held between 1831 and 1835. Owenism as an ideology became influential among working-class leaders. Owen was also important among the social critics of his time in his acceptance of industrialization and the possibilities it offered for general material improvement. Four of Owen's sons settled in the United States. The eldest, Robert Dale Owen, was elected to the state legislature of Indiana in 1835 and to the U. S. House of Representatives in 1843. In 1958 a Robert Owen Association was formed in Japan to study and promote his ideas. (*See also* Communes, Utopian Socialism)

P

PACIFISM Pacifism—the belief that war (q.v.) could and should be abolished—has been an important theme in the history of socialism. By its very nature, socialism stresses cooperation in human relations, which war, by its very nature, denies. This is not to imply that support for pacifism has been universal among socialists. Indeed the most widely supported socialist position by the end of the nineteenth century was a recognition that the world was a dangerous place and that self-defense against aggression was a responsible policy in keeping with socialist ideals. Keir Hardie (q.v.) and Edouard Vaillant both hated violence and tried unsuccessfully to persuade the Second International (q.v.) between 1910 and 1914 to declare a general strike to prevent war. Ramsay MacDonald (q.v.) shared their antiwar views. The Independent Labour Party (q.v.) was a pacifist body, a position that won it few supporters before 1914, apart from Quakers. Pacifist feelings were also strong in the Danish Social Democratic Party (q.v.) which opposed any kind of armed forces other than border guards. G. H. D. Cole (q.v.), like many others, became a pacifist because of the carnage of World War I. In the 1930s George Lansbury was the leading pacifist in the British Labour Party (qq.v.), but his influence was crushed by Ernest Bevin (qq.v.) .

Pacifist sentiments surfaced again in the British Labour Party in the 1950s in the form of opposition to nuclear weapons. In September 1960 a resolution in favor of "unilateralism" (that is, the United Kingdom rejecting the use of nuclear weapons as the basis of a defense policy on its own initiative without reference to other countries) was narrowly carried at the party's annual conference (3,282,00 votes in favor to 3,239,000 against). Opposition to nuclear

weapons (q.v.) was also a feature of socialist/social democratic parties in Western Europe and Japan. Unilateralism was effectively abandoned after May 1989 by the British Labour Party. (*See also* Jean Leon Jaurès, Independent Labour Party, Charles Fèlix Cèsar Longuet, Nuclear Weapons, War)

PAKISTAN SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) The PSP was founded as the Punjab Socialist Party in 1932 and was part of the Congress Socialist Party, later the Indian Socialist Party (q.v.), from 1936. It opposed the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan. It wanted a classless socialist society and equal treatment for all regardless of race and religion (q.v.). This placed the PSP completely at odds with nationalism (q.v.) and the religious environment of Pakistan, and it failed to prosper. Unlike the Indian Socialist Party, it was unable to gain any support from other political parties. In 1956 it had only about 1,250 members when it was represented at the Asian Socialist Conference (q.v.). Political parties were banned in Pakistan between 1958 and 1962. In 1967 Zulfikar Ali Bhutto founded the Pakistan People's Party, which was described as an Islamic socialist party but was actually more populist than socialist. Pakistan has not been represented among the affiliates of the Socialist International (q.v.). (*See also* Indian Socialist Party)

PALME, SVEN OLAF (1927-1986) A leading post-1945 Swedish social democratic politician, Palme was born in Stockholm and educated in Sweden and the United States. He graduated with a law degree in 1951. After serving as personal secretary and speechwriter to Prime Minister Tage Erlander (q.v.), he was elected to the *Riksdag* (parliament) in 1956 and was minister without portfolio until 1963. He participated in protests about America's war in Vietnam and the Soviet invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968. In October 1969 he became prime minister, but lost power in 1976 after Sweden's ailing economy cut support for the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.). He returned to power in October 1982 as prime minister of a minority government. He was shot dead in Stockholm in February 1986. (*See also* Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party)

PAN-HELLENIC SOCIALIST MOVEMENT (PASOK) PASOK (or *Panellio Socialistiko Kinima*) was formed in 1974 by Andreas Papandreou (q.v.) out of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement,

which he had formed in 1967 to oppose military rule. It claimed a membership of 150,000 in 1987 and has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since about 1990. In the national elections in September 1996, PASOK received 46.9 percent of the voted compared to 41.5 percent in 1993 and retained government. In December 1995 a left-wing group split from PASOK and formed the Democratic Renewal Group which attracted 4.4 percent of the vote in the 1996 elections. (*See also* Andreas George Papandreou)

PAPANDREOU, ANDREAS GEORGE (1919-1996) Leading Greek socialist Papandreou was born on the island of Chios. He qualified as a lawyer at the University of Athens in 1939, completed a doctorate in economics at Harvard in 1943. He became an associate professor at the University of Minnesota in 1947 and went on to hold professorships at the universities of Minnesota (between 1951 and 1955) and California (from 1955 to 1963). He returned to Greece in 1964 where his father, George, served as prime minister until he was dismissed by the king in 1965. Imprisoned by the military after their coup in 1967, he was released after eight months without trial. Then he left Greece and continued his campaign against its military rulers. He addressed the congress of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1969. He founded a new socialist party, the Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK) in 1974. It grew out of the Pan-Hellenic Liberation Movement that he had founded in 1967 to oppose the military rulers. PASOK won the 1981 election, and Papandreou became the first Greek socialist prime minister. He dominated the government and was able to impose his own interpretation of socialist policies. Despite his long residence in the United States (he relinquished his American citizenship in the 1960s), Papandreou adopted anti-American and anti-Western policies during his first term as prime minister (1981-89). Domestically, he initiated policies designed to redress social inequalities, such as improving the status of women, overhauling education, and promoting nationalization (qq.v.).

His government was defeated in 1989 though a combination of infighting in PASOK and the scandal over the failure of the Bank of Crete. Papandreou was reelected leader of PASOK in 1992 and led it to victory in 1993. His second term as prime minister was notable for its nationalism (q.v.), and moderation. Social welfare continued to be improved, but the nationalization program ceased in response to concerns by Greece's European neighbors. Papandreou was

hospitalized in late November 1995 and formally resigned as prime minister on January 15, 1996. (*See also* Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement)

PARIS COMMUNE The Paris Commune was a left-wing government that functioned between March 18 and May 28, 1871. It originated in the provisional government's acceptance of the harsh peace terms imposed on France by Bismarck after the defeat of Napoleon III in 1870. These terms included not only the surrender of Alsace-Lorraine but also the occupation of Paris by a Prussian army. The Commune was organized in an atmosphere of general discontent. It proceeded from no particular plan and it harked back in concept to the Jacobins and the Commune of 1793. The armed forces of the Commune were provided by the National Guard that had been created to defend Paris during its five-month siege. The central committee of the National Guard in Paris held elections for a body of 90 to be called the "Commune of Paris" on March 28, 1871; the 229,000 electors elected moderates as well as radicals, some of whom were linked to the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). The nonradicals largely withdrew, leaving the followers of Blanqui in the majority although the followers of Proudhon (qq.v.) were also important.

The Commune wanted to introduce labor and educational reforms, but was forced to spend much of its time fighting. It committed violence, executing the archbishop of Paris and other hostages and burning some buildings, but its violence paled before the savage reconquest of Paris by Thiers's forces which destroyed much of inner Paris and killed thousands. Estimates of the casualties vary, but it is thought that about 30,000 supporters of the Paris Commune were killed in the fighting and a further 45,000 were arrested, of whom 17,000 were executed and 13,000 were imprisoned or deported to New Caledonia.

The crushing of the Paris Commune had important implications for the history of socialism. First, it greatly weakened France as the European center of socialism and so hastened the demise of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). Second, it was the subject of a work by Marx called *The Civil War In France,* which Lenin (qq.v.) used to support his case for the dictatorship of the proletariat. Third, the Paris Commune supplied martyrs for the socialist cause in France and elsewhere; the Paris Commune was featured on the some of the posters after the Bolshevik takeover of

Russia in 1917. Fourth, it showed that any attempt to introduce socialism by revolution was bound to provoke a violent conservative response. (*See also* Communes, Leninism)

PARTY FOR DEMOCRACY AND PROGRESS, BURKINA FASO This party (*Parti pour la démocratie et le progrès*) was formed in 1993 and was made a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) by 1995. It was formed by a breakaway party from the Popular Front established in October 1987 after the violent overthrow of the popular military Sankara government. Between 1980 and the falll of Sankara, no political parties had been permitted in Burkina Faso ("country of honest men"), which had been known as Upper Volta before 1984. The party was led by Joseph Ki-Zerbo, who had links to the French Socialist Party (q.v.).

PARTY OF THE DEMOCRATIC LEFT (PDL) The PDL (*Stana demokratickej l'avice*) began as the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, which was formed in 1921. With the end of communist rule in 1989, the Communist Party in Slovakia reformed itself as a democratic party along the lines of members of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1991. In 1992 the PDL attracted 14.7 percent of the vote in the Slovak elections and in 1993 claimed a membership of 50,000. Unlike its rival the Slovakian Social Democratic Party (q.v.), the PDL was not a member of the Socialist International in 1994. (*See also* Slovakian Social Democratic Party)

PELLOUTIER, FERNAND LÉONCE EMILE (1867-1901) A French radical labor leader of middle-class origins, Pelloutier was one of the leading exponents of syndicalism, the doctrine that saw the general strike as the most effective way of overthrowing the social order. Born in Paris, he was secretary of the *Fédération des Bourses du Travail* from 1895 until his death. Pelloutier envisaged the socialist society of the future as a federal grouping of producers, with each industry organized on a local basis by unions that enrolled all occupations within their ranks. He wanted unions to control the supply of labor and the apprenticeship system. To be effective managers, employees needed to be well informed and have access to good libraries. (*See also* Guild Socialism, Syndicalism)

PEOPLE'S ELECTORAL MOVEMENT (PEP) The PEP (*Movimento Electoral di Pueblo*) was set up on the Caribbean island

of Aruba in 1971. It took a leading role in the struggle for domestic autonomy from the Netherlands, which was granted in January 1986. It has participated in government between 1989 and 1994. Full independence for Aruba was due in 1996. The PEP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1994.

PEOPLE'S NATIONAL PARTY (PNP) The PNP was formed in Jamaica in September 1938 by Norman Washington Manley (1893-1969), who based it on the British Labour Party (q.v.). The PNP was first elected to government in 1955. It has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1952.

POLICIES (*See* Education, Egalitarianism, Imperialism, Inheritance, Nationalization, Pacifism, Religion, Unemployment, War, Wealth, Welfare State, Women)

POLISH SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) Socialism in what is now Poland (but before 1918 was divided among the empires of Russia, Austro-Hungary and Germany) emerged in the 1870s. In 1881 Lugwig Wariński (1856-1889) organized a socialist organization, Proletariat, which conducted some strikes before it was suppressed. Wariński was arrested and died in jail. Proletariat was later reestablished and operated as an underground political body; one of its members was Rosa Luxemburg (q.v.), who joined in 1886. In Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian empire, the Poles formed a section of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.). Other socialist groups were also organized and merged with Proletariat to form the PSP in 1892. The PSP adopted a policy of nationalism (q.v.), which put it at odds with the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) and vocal critics such as Rosa Luxemburg.

In 1906 most of the left wing of the PSP broke away and many of them joined the Polish Communist Party in 1919. A second split in the PSP occurred in 1916 when Josef Pilsudski (1867-1935) led many on the right wing out of the party. World War I radically altered Polish politics. Poland declared its independence in November 1918 (the first time it had been an independent nation since 1795) and fought a brief but successful, war with the new Bolshevik state in 1920. The PSP was represented in the lower house of parliament (the *Sejm*) from 1919 and even participated in government in the early 1920s, but its support declined. Poland was then a heavily agricultural country and nationalism had far greater

appeal than the kind of radical socialism espoused by the PSP. In 1926 Pilsudski, the former socialist, staged a coup d'etat and was effectively a dictator until his death. In 1928 the PSP declared a membership of 63,400 to the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.), but this included 8,400 members of a an independent socialist party.

The PSP was devastated by World War II. Many died in the resistance to Nazi rule and others were executed by the Soviet government, which did not want the PSP to compete with the Communist Party. Two leading Polish socialists who were executed on Stalin's orders in 1942, despite international protests, were Henry Erlich and Victor Alter.

In 1948 what remained of the PSP was formed to merge with the Polish United Workers' Party, by then the ruling communist party. In November 1987 it was secretly re-formed, but it failed to attract support. The reason for its lack of support lay partly in the Polish United Workers' Party transforming itself into the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic in 1990. It professed democratic intentions and apologized for the repression of the past. In 1994 no Polish parties were members of the Socialist International (q.v.).

POLITICAL PARTIES (*See* American Labor Party, Argentinian Socialist Party, Australian Labor Party, Austrian Social Democratic Workers'/Socialist Party, Barbados Labour Party, Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party, British Labour Party, British Socialist Party, Bulgarian Social Democratic Party, Czech Social Democratic Party, Danish Social Democratic Party, Democratic Action, Democratic Action Party, Democratic Constituent Assembly, Democratic Labor Party, Democratic Left, Democratic Party of the Left, Democratic Socialists of America, Democratic Socialist Party, Dominican Revolutionary Party, Dutch Social Democratic Workers'/Labor Party, Estonian Social Democratic Party, Finnish Social Democratic Party, French Socialist Party, German Social Democratic Party, Hungarian Socialist Party, Icelandic Social Democratic Party, Independent Labour Party, Indian Socialist Party, Irish Labour Party, Israel Labor Party, Italian Socialist Party, Japanese Socialist Party, Latvian Social Democratic Party, Lithuanian Social Democratic Party, Luxembourg Socialist Workers' Party, Malta Labour Party, Mauritius Labor Party, Mongolian Social Democratic Party, Movement of the Revolutionary Left, National Democratic Party, National Liberation

Party, New Democratic Party, New Zealand Labour Party, Norwegian Labor Party, Pakistan Socialist Party, Party for Democracy and Progress, Party of the Democratic Left, People's Electoral Movement (Aruba), Polish Socialist Party, Portuguese Socialist Party, Puerto Rican Independence Party, Radical Party, Revolutionary-Progressive Nationalist Party (Haiti), Romanian Social Democratic Party, Slovakian Social Democratic Party, Social Democratic and Labour Party, Social Democratic Federation, Social Democratic Party of America, Social Democratic People's Party, Social Democrats USA, Socialist Labor Party of America, Socialist Party of America, Socialist Party of Senegal, Socialist Unity Party, South African Labour Party, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party, Swiss Social Democratic Party, Unified Democratic Union of Cyprus, United Workers' Party, Vietnam Socialist Party, Workingmen's Party of the United States)

POPULAR FRONT The Popular Front was the name of a temporary alliance between communists, social democrats and other left-wing groups designed to resist fascism. It operated between 1936 and 1939. The idea of the Popular Front was proposed by the Comintern (q.v.) in 1935 and was a reversal of its previous policy of denigrating social democrats, who were described as "social fascists." The need for unity among left-wing parties was shown when they were suppressed by fascists in Germany and Austria in 1933-34. Popular Front governments were formed in France (1936-37), under Blum, Chautemps, and Daladier, in Spain (1936-39) and in Chile (1938-41). Soviet support for the idea of the Popular Front was dropped after the signing of the Non-Aggression Pact between Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union in August 1939. (*See also* Comintern, Communism, Léon Blum)

PORTUGUESE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) Although it was formed in 1876, the PSP (*Partido Socialista Portuguesa*) was mainly notable for its insignificance in Portuguese affairs before the 1970s. The poverty and economic backwardness of Portugal encouraged political extremism and discouraged the development of democratic socialism. Anarchism and syndicalism (qq.v.) were the dominant forces in the labor unions (q.v.), which operated independently of the PSP. What little support the PSP had was concentrated in the north in and around the town of Oporto. After the monarchy was

overthrown in 1910, a constitutional republic was instituted. But Portuguese politics remained highly unstable. In the 1915 election to the lower house on a limited franchise (the illiterate were denied the franchise), the PSP received only 5,100 votes, or 1.6 percent of the votes cast. A communist party was formed in 1919, but like the PSP it attracted limited support. In 1928 both parties were suppressed by a military-based dictatorship led by Salazar, who remained in power until his death in 1968. The PSP was reestablished in 1973 by Mário Soares and won 40.7 percent of the valid vote in April 1975, making the PSP the largest single party and enabling it to form a government; it claimed 96,000 members in 1976. It governed between 1975 and 1978, 1983 and 1985, and since October 1995. In June 1986 all references to Marxism (q.v.) were removed from its declaration of principles. (*See also* António Guterres, Mário Soares)

POSITIVISM Positivism was a British ideology based on the ideas of Comte, Mill (q.v.), and Spencer. It was a rival to Marxism (q.v.) in the 1860s. It saw the working class (q.v.) as the means of achieving a nonsocialist democratic revolution and was important in the development of Fabianism. (*See also* Fabianism)

POSSIBILISTS A breakaway group from the *Fédération des Ouvriers Socialistes de Francc* (Federation of Socialist Workers of France), France's first socialist party, formed in June 1880 under Jules Guesde (q.v.). In 1882 the *Fédération* split into two groups: one group followed Guesde and called itself the *Parti Ouvrier Français* (French Workers' Party). The other, under Paul Brousse (1844-1912), called itself *Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire Français* (French Socialist Revolutionary Workers' Party) and became known as the Possibilists. The Possibilists dropped *Révolutionnaire* from of its title and became the more moderate of the two parties. The split occurred because the Possibilists wanted a decentralized organization whereas the Guesdists favored a centralized Marxist party based on the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.). The Possibilists remained committed to the class struggle but wanted to exploit every opportunity possible to advance socialism, such as through local government, social legislation, and alliances with bourgeois radicals. Unlike the party of Guesde, the Possibilists supported the freedom of the trade unions to develop in their own way and did not try to direct or dominate them. They were

supported by Parisian artisans and the lower levels of the middle class. In March 1888 the Possibilists issued a public invitation for an international conference in Paris in July which gave rise to the Second International (q.v.).

In 1890 the Possibilists themselves split. Jean Allemane (1843-1935), a survivor of the Paris Commune (q.v.) who had been transported to New Caledonia, was the leader of the breakaway group that advocated direct strike action by trade unions and was critical of parliamentary methods. The group adopted the original title of the Possibilists—the *Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire Français*; in 1896 this party split when an even more radical group broke away and set itself up as the *Alliance Communiste Révolutionnaire* (Revolutionary Communist Alliance). In the meantime, the original Possibilists, the followers of Allemane and the Independent Socialists, formed a federation called the *Parti Socialiste Français* (French Socialist Party) that enabled them to retain their individual organizations. In April 1905, at the behest of the Second International (q.v.), this federation joined with another socialist federation, the *Parti Socialiste de France* (Socialist Party of France) formed by the followers of Guesde and Louis-Auguste Blanqui, to create the *Parti Socialiste Unifié* (United Socialist Party) under Jean Jaurés (q.v.). (*See also* French Socialist Party, Revisionism)

PRODUCER COOPERATIVES Cooperative production refers to the collective ownership of enterprises that produce goods or services. Producer cooperatives were widely advocated by a wide range of socialist writers in the nineteenth century as a practical remedy for many of the abuses of capitalism. Between 1860 and 1914 producer cooperatives were formed by employees in the United Kingdom to produce coal, flour and bread, footwear, metal goods, and clothing and to provide printing, laundry and banking and insurance services. Despite these initiatives, producer cooperation was always small-scale and never attained the success of consumer cooperatives. During the twentieth century, the British Co-operative Wholesale Society (q.v.) extended its activities into the production of goods and the provision of services, some of which had been pioneered by producer cooperatives. (*See also* Cooperative Movement, Gotha Program, Mutualism)

PROUDHON, PIERRE-JOSEPH (1809-1865) Proudhon was the founder of anarchism as a political ideology. Born near Besançon in the Jura mountains of France, he, almost alone among the main early socialist thinkers, was of the working class. His father was a cooper who later tried to be a brewer and tavern keeper. Proudhon completed an apprenticeship as a printer and was largely self-educated. In 1829 he supervised the printing of *Le Nouveau Monde industriel* (The New Industrial World), one of the main works of Charles Fourier (q.v.) and spent six weeks in his close company. In 1843 he arrived in Lyon to work as a clerk for a water transport company. Lyon was then home to all kinds of socialists. In 1840 he published *Qu'est-ce la propriété?* (What Is Property?) in which he set out the fundamental tenets of anarchist doctrine. He became famous for his declaration that "property is theft," one of the most misused quotations of socialist thought. He did *not* mean that all property was theft; what he condemned was the use of property to exploit the labor of others. Far from condemning all property, he regarded property in the form of the ownership of a house, land, and tools by workers as a right essential for liberty. Even though he later fell out with Proudhon, Marx (q.v.) initially admired *Qu'est-ce la propriété?* In 1848-49 Proudhon served as a deputy in the national assembly but was disillusioned by his parliamentary experience. Proudhon was a prolific writer, but not a systematic thinker. His views caused official offense and led to his serving several jail terms.

Apart from his journalism and books, Proudhon's main achievement was his attempt to set up a people's bank in 1849 to foster the exchange of the products of labor between works based on a system of vouchers for labor. Credit was to be provided at a nominal rate. The purpose of the bank was to promote the welfare of independent craftsmen. It attracted 27,000 potential subscribers, but failed to become operational. Before 1890 Proudhon's ideas were very influential in French socialism. His views shaped syndicalism (q.v.), and he counted among his supporters the artist Gustave Courbet (1819-1877), Alexander Herzen (1812-187), and Michael Bakunin (q.v.). He influenced Peter Kropotkin (q.v.) and the Russian novelist Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910). (*See also* Anarchism, Federalism, Manifesto of the Sixty, Mutualism)

PROGRESSIVE SOCIALIST PARTY (PSP) The PSP (*Al-Hizb al-Takadumi al-Ishteraki*) was founded in Lebanon in 1949 as a

Moslem Druse party committed to implementing socialist policies by constitutional means. It was founded by Kamal Jumblatt (c. 1917-1977). The PSP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1980.

PUERTO RICAN INDEPENDENCE PARTY (PRIP) The PRIP (*Partido Independentista Puertoriqueño*) was founded in 1946, but it was not until 1984 that it gained its first parliamentary representatives. This was because for most of its history, independence was not supported in Puerto Rico; in a referendum in 1967 less than 1 percent of voters supported independence. In about 1987 the PRIP became a consultant member of the Socialist International (q.v.), claiming a membership of 6,000. It became a full member in 1994.

PRIVATIZATION (*See* Nationalization)

R

RACISM For most of its history, socialism as a movement paid little attention to racism as such. Before 1950 Western Europe was hardly touched by non-European immigration, and so racism as an issue loomed small. Racism was generally seen, rather like anti-Semitism, as a capitalist device intended to divide the working class (q.v.) and divert it from challenging capitalism. The Frankfurt Declaration of 1951, by Socialist International (qq.v.) condemned discrimination on the grounds of race, but this idea was slow to take hold.

The Australian Labor Party (q.v.) officially supported an immigration policy that excluded non-Europeans before the 1960s. The British Labour Party (q.v.), in contrast, adopted a new statement of aims in March 1960 affirming that its "central ideal" was "the brotherhood of man" and accordingly repudiated "discrimination on the grounds of race, color or creed." (*See also* Jews)

RADICAL PARTY (RP) The RP (*Partido Radical*) was originally founded in Chile in 1863. It was the party of government from 1938 to 1952. During the 1950s it was anticommunist, but it moved to the left in the 1960s and joined the Allende government in the 1970s. Banned after the military coup, the PR went into exile in Mexico where it split into center and left factions. After 1983 the center faction built alliances with other groups to form a united opposition

to military rule. The RP has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since about 1987.

RELIGION There was a strong undercurrent of hostility toward organized religion within socialism, particularly where it was allied with conservative or reactionary governments, or where it diverted the working class from the economic and social struggle for improvement as defined by Marx (q.v.). But was also recognized that individuals have a right to a religion. The association of socialism with militant antireligious policies was a feature of Leninism. Socialist/social democratic political parties in the 1890s were well aware of the divisive nature of religion as they worked to create and maintain a united working class necessary for political reform. This compromise view was evident in the Erfurt Program of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.), which demanded that religion be declared a private matter, that all state expenditure on churches and religious bodies cease, and that churches and religious bodies be treated as private associations, that is, a complete separation of church and state. It also demanded that education (q.v.) be completely secularized. The Brunn Program (1901) of the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.) also demanded that civil marriage be compulsory.

Although socialists generally tended to regard socialism as rational (as opposed to religion which was seen as irrational) not all observers agreed. Gustav Le Bon (1841-1931), a pioneer of social psychology and an unsympathetic observer of the rise of socialism, wrote *The Psychology of Socialism* (1899) in which he presented socialism as essentially a religious movement. In contrast, Leninism was distinctive in socialist thought for its hostility to all forms of religion as a means of oppressing the working class. The socialist republican government of Spain was also exceptional in its anti-religious policies.

Public opinion polls conducted since 1950 indicate that there is still a significant divide between support for social democratic parties by religion in Western Europe, particularly in France, Italy, and the Netherlands. The Godesberg Program (q.v.) of the German Social Democratic Party was careful to proclaim in 1958 that "socialism was no substitute for religion" and it respected religious freedom. The British Labour Party (q.v.) officially rejected discrimination on the grounds of religion in its statement of aims in 1960. (*See also* Christianity, Dutch Social Democratic

Workers'/Labor Party, International League of Religious Socialists, Leninism, Claude-Henri de Rouvroy Saint-Simon, Spanish Socialist Workers' Party, Temperance)

RENNER, KARL (1870-1950) Austrian social democratic theorist and politician, Renner was born in Unter-Tannowitz, Bohemia and, came from a peasant background, which was unusual for a socialist of the time. A moderate socialist, he qualified as a lawyer at the University of Vienna, joined the Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.), and represented the party in the parliament from 1907. After the collapse of the monarchical government in November 1918, he became chancellor heading a coalition government, a post he held until October 1919 and again from October 1919 to June 1920. Because of the severe territorial losses suffered by Austria following the dismemberment of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Renner supported union (*Anschluss)* with Germany, but this was rejected by the Allies. In his pre-1920 writings, Renner gave much attention to the problems of the various nationalities within the former empire. As chancellor he advocated that Austria play a constructive role in international affairs. Identified on the right of the party from 1920 onward, Renner was president of the Austrian parliament from 1930 to 1933. He was jailed for a year by the Dollfuss regime, but released. In 1938 he made a public statement in apparent support of Hitler's takeover of Austria, but this seems not to have been made voluntarily. He moved out of Vienna during World War II and was associated with the underground resistance to the Nazis. He was chancellor once more after the end of the German occupation in April 1945 as head of a coalition government that declared its independence from Germany and threw out all the Nazi laws. In December 1945 he was elected president by parliament, a position he held until his death. (*See also* Victor Adler, Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party/Socialist Party)

REVISIONISM *Revisionism* was a general term for a doctrine that emerged within socialism around 1880. It advocated constitutional, gradual means (rather than revolution based on class struggle) to achieve socialist objectives. Revisionism, or reformism, was foreshadowed by Louis Blanc (q.v.). In France, revisionism dates from 1882 with the Possibilists. In the United Kingdom, the first systematic form of revisionism was Fabianism which influenced the

ideas of Eduard Bernstein, with whom revisionism in continental Europe is traditionally associated. In Germany, Bernstein's ideas were anticipated by a Munich socialist deputy, Georg von Vollar (1850-1932) who argued in 1891 for the importance of immediate practical reforms and laws to protect labor, regulate business cartels, and reform taxation. In France, the foremost revisionist in the 1900s was Alexandre Millerand (q.v.). Because it accepted the fundamental economic relationships of capitalism, revisionism was condemned by Marxists, at conferences by the Second International (q.v.), and later by communists. Yet revisionism recognized the enormous practical difficulty of making far-reaching social and economic changes quickly. In practice, if not in theory, it was adopted by the social democratic parties in countries with democratic, parliamentary governments. (*See also* Eduard Bernstein, Fabianism, Possibilists)

REVOLUTIONARY-PROGRESSIVE NATIONALIST PARTY (RPNA) The RPNA, or *Parti Nationaliste Progressiviste Révolutionnaire,* was formed in Haiti in 1986. In June 1989 it was made a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.). Led by Serge Gillies, it became one of the island's leading political parties after the 1990 elections.

REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALIST LEAGUE (*See* Militant Tendency)

ROMANIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (RSDP) The RSDP was originally formed in 1893 as the *Partidul Social-Democrat al Muncitorilor din România* (Social Democratic Party of Workers of Romania). The first manifestation of socialism in Romania occurred in 1834 when Teodor Diamant (1810-1841), a minor aristocrat, established an agricultural-industrial community of 60 people at Scăieni, north of Bucharest. It was based directly on the "phalanstery" concept of Charles Fourier (q.v.). The community was closed down by the ruler of Wallacia in 1836. Interest in socialism revived in the late 1870s. It was strongest among university students studying law and medicine and was stimulated by Russian exiles, particularly Constantin Dobrogeanu-Gherea (1855-1920) who was the main source of Marxist theory. From its formation the RSDP sent representatives to all congresses of the Second International (q.v.) apart from that at Amsterdam in 1904. The leadership of the

RSDP was dominated by intellectuals. Although the RSDP had 6,000 members by 1897, most were confined to Bucharest. Ideological differences, as well as financial weakness, ensured the party stayed weak.

In February 1900 there was a split between those who wanted to maintain a separate socialist party and those (mainly intellectuals) who wanted to merge all political parties that wanted democracy. It was not until after 1905 that socialism and the trade unions revived. The socialist union was formed by socialists and trade unions to coordinate their political activity, but apart from strikes and rural unrest, little was achieved. In February 1910 the Union decided to form a new political party, the *Partidul Social Democrat* (Social Democratic Party). At the 1911 election the RSDP campaigned on a platform of universal suffrage, a graduated income tax, and social security, but it received only 1,459 votes out of 73,633 cast (2 percent). The progress of socialism was hampered by a restricted franchise, a rigged electoral system, the lack of industrialization and the overwhelmingly rural (82 percent in 1913) character of Romanian society.

The RSDP sent a representative to the Zimmerwald Conference (q.v.) in 1915, but was able to do little else. In February 1921 the party split: 18 members of the executive opted to join the Comintern (q.v.) and 12 dissented. The dissidents set up the Social Democratic Party which joined the International Working Union of Socialist Parties (q.v.). In 1921 the Communist Party was outlawed and only one social democratic candidate, Jacob Pistiner (d. 1930) was elected as a deputy in 1922; he became Romania's representative to the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.). In 1926 Pistiner lost his parliamentary position because the government passed a law denying representation to political parties that polled less than 2 percent of the vote. In a climate of electoral manipulation and effective government by dictatorship, the RSDP could do little in the 1920s and 1930s.

The RSDP was forced to merge with the Romanian Communist Party in February 1948. The RSDP was re-formed on December, 24 1989 and succeeded in gaining legal recognition as the legitimate continuation of the pre-1948 party. It contested the September 1992 elections with other parties as the Democratic Convention and received 20 percent of the vote. As a party in exile, it was a consultant member of the Socialist International (q.v.) from 1963; it

was admitted as a consultant member in 1992 and was a full member by 1994.

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SACCO-VANZETTI CASE The Sacco-Vanzetti case concerned the conviction and execution by electrocution of two Italian anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, in Massachusetts in August 1927. They were charged with the murder of a paymaster and the theft of more than $15,000 from a shoe factory in 1921. Sacco and Vanzetti always denied the charges. It was widely suspected they were blamed because they were anarchists rather than because they were genuinely guilty. Their case and their eloquent final statement attracted international support. It also inspired literary works such as *Boston* (1928) by Upton Sinclair (q.v.). In 1977 the governor of Massachusetts exonerated Sacco and Vanzetti of any wrongdoing. (*See also* Anarchism)

SAINT-IMIER INTERNATIONAL After the victory of the Marxists over the anarchists at the Hague congress of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.) in 1872, a mainly anarchist congress was held at Saint-Imier, Switzerland, to found a rival International. At its Geneva congress in 1873 this body attracted delegates from Spain, Italy, the Jura mountains, France, the Netherlands, Belgium, and the United Kingdom. At the 1874 congress at Brussels, the Lassalleans were also represented. Subsequent congresses were held at Berne (1876) and Verviers in the Netherlands (1877); this last congress attracted delegates from Mexico, Uruguay, and Argentina. (*See also* Anarchism)

SAINT-SIMON, CLAUDE-HENRI DE ROUVROY, COMTE DE (1760-1825) Social and religious theorist, Henri Saint-Simon was born in Paris. Despite his aristocratic lineage—his family claimed descent from Charlemagne (who once appeared to Saint-Simon in a dream)—Saint-Simon was a democrat. He fought in five campaigns during the American War of Independence. He returned to France and stayed there during the Revolution. In 1825 he published his proposal for a new religion, *Nouveau Christianisme* (New Christianity) in which he advocated a return to Christianity's traditional concern of for the poor. He carried his concern for social justice to his works on the efficient reorganization of the economy

so as to give the productive and useful members of society a greater share of wealth, although he never explained how this was to be done. As a result, his ideas were subject to varying interpretations. After his death his followers formed a religious commune but it soon fell apart. Saint-Simon's ideas were studied by individuals as diverse as John Stuart Mill and Friedrich Engels (qq.v.). (*See also* Christianity, Religion, Utopian Socialism)

SARAGAT, GIUSEPPE (1898-1988) Italian social democratic politician, Saragat was born in Turin into a middle-class household. After he graduated from the University of Turin with a degree in economics and commerce, he worked as a bank clerk. He joined the Italian Socialist Party (ISP) in Turin and became its secretary. With the imposition of Mussolini's dictatorship, Saragat was forced into exile in Austria and France between 1926 and 1943. After Mussolini's fall, he returned to Italy where he helped fight the Nazi occupation; he was captured by them, but escaped. Between 1945 and 1946 he served a minister without portfolio and as ambassador to France. On his return, he was elected president of the constitutional assembly at a time when a new constitution was being drawn up. Saragat was a pro-Western and anticommunist politician. In 1947 he led a breakaway socialist party from the ISP because of its cooperation with the communists. He was secretary of this party from 1947 to 1964 and from 1975 to 1983. He was deputy prime minister of Italy from 1947 to 1949, and from 1954 to 1957. He was minister for foreign affairs from 1963 to 1964, and was president of Italy from 1964 to 1971, the first socialist to hold this post. His political career was notable for his efforts to improve housing, health, and edueation (q.v.). (*See also* Italian Socialist Party)

SAVAGE, MICHAEL JOSEPH (1872-1940) Born in Benalla, Victoria, Australia, Savage was the first prime minister to come from the New Zealand Labour Party (q.v.). After leaving high school in 1886, he worked in various jobs before becoming secretary of the Political Labor Council of Victoria in 1900. He also opened a cooperative store. In 1907 he emigrated to New Zealand and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1919. He became leader of the New Zealand Labour Party in 1933 and prime minister in 1935 after the party's electoral victory. He held office until his death in March 1940. Savage's government brought in a comprehensive range of social and labor laws that laid the

foundations of the welfare state (q.v.) in New Zealand until the 1990s. These measures included a 40-hour work week, a minimum wage, compulsory unionism for many employees, a housing program, increased public works, and, most importantly, the Social Security Act (1938). Savage's government supported the League of Nations and Britain's increased defense efforts. (*See also* New Zealand Labour Party)

SCANDILUX A forum set up by the social democratic parties of Scandinavia and the Low Countries in 1980 to coordinate opposition to the deployment of Pershing and Cruise missiles by the United States in Western Europe. Although these missiles were deployed in 1983, Scandilux continued to act as a forum for debate about arms control. (*See also* Nuclear Weapons)

SCHEIDEMANN, PHILIPP (1865-1939) German social democratic politician, Scheidemann is best remembered as the man who proclaimed a provisional republican government from the balcony of the *Reichstag* (parliament) on November 9, 1918 without any authorization from his party. Born in Kassel, Scheidemann became a journalist and was elected to parliament for the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) in 1903. In October 1918 he was appointed minister without portfolio in the government of Prince Max of Baden. He proclaimed the republic to forestall the radical socialist Karl Liebknecht (q.v.) who was said to be planning to proclaim a soviet style government following the example of Lenin (q.v.). Scheidemann was a member of the provisional government which took over after the collapse of the monarchy and became the first chancellor of the Weimar Republic after the elections in February 1919. He was a strongly opposed to Leninism (q.v.) and militarism. As chancellor he refused to ratify the Versailles Treaty and resigned his post on June 20, 1919 and was replaced by Gustav Adolf Bauer (q.v.). He was to the left of Friedrich Ebert, whom he disliked. He returned to his native Kassel where he served as mayor to 1925 and survived an assassination attempt in 1922. After Hitler came to power, he fled Germany and died in Copenhagen. (*See also* Gustav Adolf Bauer, Friedrich Ebert, German Social Democratic Party)

SCHMIDT, HELMUT HEINRICH WALDEMAR (1918-) Born in Barmbeck, Germany, Schmidt was chancellor for the German Social Democratic Party (GSDP) from 1974 to 1982. Conscripted

during World War II, he was captured by the British and joined the GSDP while a prisoner of war. After World War II, he qualified as an economist and was elected to the *Bundestag* (parliament) in 1953. He succeeded Willy Brandt (q.v.) as chancellor in May 1974 and held the position until his defeat in 1982. Schmidt came to power at a difficult time in the international economy that saw the ending of the post-1945 boom and large increases in petroleum prices. He was politically more conservative than Brandt, and his administration emphasized sound economic management rather than social reform; this was shown by the careful control of government expenditure to dampen inflation and a tacit agreement with labor unions (q.v.) in 1976 to provide economic stability and employment growth in return for restraint by unions in making pay claims. In foreign policy he supported the policy of improved relations with the communist-run Eastern Europe (*Ostpolitik*) and, with James Callaghan (q.v.), the U. S. proposal for the deployment of the neutron bomb in Europe, a position that cost him support among young and middle-class supporters of the GSDP. He resigned from parliament in 1987. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Willy Brandt)

SCHUMACHER, KURT (1895-1952) Schumacher was a central figure in the successful revival of the German Social Democratic Party (GSDP) (q.v.) after World War II. He was born in Kuhm, Prussia, and his father was a merchant. He obtained a doctorate in political science from Münster University. As a result of military service during World War I, his right arm was amputated. He joined the GSDP in 1920 and worked as an editor for socialist publications and a legislator. He was a member of the *Reichstag* from 1930 to 1933. An ardent anti-Nazi, Schumacher was arrested under the infamous *Enabling Law* and spent most of the period from 1934 to 1945 in Dachau concentration camp; like many other GSDP and trade union leaders imprisoned there, he suffered greatly. Despite his experiences, he was authorized by other GSDP figures to convene a conference at Wennigsen, near Hanover, in August 1945. This conference, which was held in October 1945, reestablished the GSDP largely with survivors from the pre-1933 years. In May 1946 Schumacher was elected chairman of the GSDP and as leader sought to broaden the appeal of the party to include the middle class (q.v.) and Catholics. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party)

SCULLIN, JAMES HENRY (1876-1953) Australian Labor Party (ALP) prime minister from October 1929 to January 1932, Scullin was born at Trawalla, Victoria. Largely self-educated, he joined the ALP in 1903 and was a member of the federal parliament from 1910 to 1913. He was a leading anticonscriptionist during the campaigns of 1916 and 1917. He reentered federal parliament in 1922 and became leader of the parliamentary ALP members in 1928 and prime minister after the national election in October 1929. However, the ALP failed to win a majority in the upper house, the Senate, whose members frustrated his government's efforts to ease the very high unemployment caused by the Depression. His government faced opposition from the ALP in New South Wales led by the colorful John T. Lang (q.v.) and from the conservative board of the Commonwealth Bank. His own cabinet divided about the best policies to adopt toward the Depression. His government was defeated in the election of December 1931 by the newly formed United Australia Party. Scullin remained leader of the ALP in the federal parliament until 1935 and was a member of parliament until 1949. The experience of the Scullin government with the banks convinced his minister for defense, J. B. Chifley (q.v.), to try to nationalize the banks when he was prime minister in the late 1940s. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, Joseph Benedict Chifley, John Thomas Lang)

SECOND INTERNATIONAL The more common name for the Second International Workingmen's Association, the Second International, was a loose association of socialist parties that was founded in Paris in 1889 and was dissolved in 1914 when World War I began. Its founding was a logical extension of the growth of socialist political parties, as well as international organizations by trade unions in Western Europe in particular occupations. The initiatives for the Second International began in 1887; in September, the British Trades Union Congress voted for an international conference to press claims for an eight-hour working day and in October the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) voted to convene an international socialist conference at its congress at St. Gallen, Switzerland. In November 1888 the parliamentary committee of the Trades Union Congress organized a conference in London that was attended by French and Belgian socialists. On March 11, 1889, Paul Brousse (1844-1912), the leader of the Possibilists (q.v.), issued a public invitation to attend an

international conference in July in Paris.

A division quickly occurred between the Marxists, following Engels, and the others, including the Possibilists and most of the United Kingdom union leaders. As a result, two conferences were held at different venues; the Marxists held theirs at a hall in the rue Petrelle; the Possibilists conference was held at a hall in the rue de Lancy, although there was some movement by delegates between the conferences. The Marxists' conference was attended by 391 delegates, mainly from France and Germany but also some from the United States. The Possibilists' conference passed resolutions in favor of the eight-hour day, better working conditions, and standing armies.

After the inaugural Paris congress, the Second International met at Brussels (1891), Zürich (1893), London (1896), Paris (1900), Amsterdam (1904), Stuttgart (1910), and Bâle, Switzerland (1912). Vienna was to have been the venue for the congress in August 1914 but with the outbreak of World War I it was changed to Paris and then canceled. A congress was planned for Stockholm in 1917 but had to be abandoned.

The Second International was subject to many disagreements, but it did manage to initiate May 1 as a day for international demonstrations by labor unions in favor of the eight-hour day. May Day, which owed its origins to Labor Day in the United States, was first celebrated in this way in Europe in 1890. The Second International, which did not have a secretariat until 1900, proved unable to agree on many important issues, specifically whether socialism (q.v.) could be achieved through parliamentary means and whether socialist parties should join in parliamentary coalitions with other parties, a practice condemned by the 1905 conference in Amsterdam. The Second International opposed anarchism (q.v.), and after 1896 anarchists were excluded from its membership. The outbreak of a European war in which nationalism (q.v.) would override the interests of the working class was foreseen by the Second International, which tried to prevent it. Nationalism proved stronger and destroyed the organization. A number of bodies since 1914 have claimed to be the rightful successor to the Second International. (*See also* Comintern, Labor and Socialist International)

SECOND INTERNATIONAL WORKINGMENS' ASSOCIATION
(*See* Second International)

SHAW, GEORGE BERNARD (1856-1950) Born in Dublin, Ireland, Shaw went on to achieve international renown as a dramatist and a critic. A concern with social problems led him to attend a Henry George (q.v.) lecture and made him interested in socialism. He was familiar with Marxism and anarchism (qq.v.). In the early 1880s he wrote five failed socialist novels, but was only able to get one published, *An Unsocial Socialist* (1883). In 1884 he joined the Fabian Society in London and made the acquaintance of Sidney Webb (q.v.). He edited an English edition of *The Co-operative Commonwealth* (1884) by Laurence Grönlund (q.v.) and Fabian Essays (1889), a work that brought Fabianism to the attention of educated readers in Britain. He wrote *The Early History of the Fabian Society* (1892) and *The Intelligent Woman's Guide to Socialism and Capitalism* (1928). Like Robert Blatchford (q.v.), he supported the Boer War. His socialism, like other aspects of his life, was eccentric. Like other socialists he was opposed to unearned income, but unlike them cared little for democracy and favored rule by experts, even if it meant dictatorship. (*See also* Fabianism)

SINCLAIR, UPTON BEALL (1878-1968) American author and unorthodox socialist, Sinclair was born in Baltimore into an unsuccessful branch of a prosperous and prominent family. His father was an inebriate and liquor salesman. Sinclair worked his way through college and supported himself by journalism and odd jobs. In the early 1900s he lived in poverty with his wife. He joined the Socialist Party of America in 1902 and, at the party's instigation, conducted an investigation of the meatpacking industry in Chicago. *The Jungle* (1906), his novel exposing the shocking conditions of the industry, made him briefly well-off and assisted in the passing of the federal *Pure Food and Drug Act*, an ironic result for a work intended to fire enthusiasm for social reform.

Sinclair used the profits from *The Jungle* to finance an experimental housing cooperative, but the project was destroyed by fire in 1907 and Sinclair lost his money. He resigned from the Socialist Party over its opposition to World War I, but later rejoined it. In 1915 he moved to California and in 1934 campaigned as the Democratic candidate for governor on an antipoverty campaign; he was only narrowly defeated. Thereafter he concentrated on his writing. Of particular importance in the history of socialism were his critiques of capitalism in specific industries: *The Moneychangers* (1908), which dealt with Wall Street, *King Coal* (1917), which was

concerned with the miners of Colorado, *Oil* (1927), and *The Flivver King* (1937), which was about the automobile industry. He also wrote an account of the Sacco-Vanzetti case (q.v.), *Boston* (1928). Sinclair's works enjoyed large sales. *(See also* Socialist Party of America)

SLOVAKIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SSDP) The SSDP (*Sociáldemokratická Strana Slovenska*) was originally part of the Czech Social Democratic Party (q.v.) before it was forced to merge with the Czech Communist Party in 1948. It was reformed in February 1990, but did poorly in the 1990 elections when it received only 1.9 percent of the vote. Even when it was led by Alexander Dubcěk (q.v.), it received only 4.9 percent of the vote in 1992. The main reason for the poor performance of the SSDP was strong competition from the reformed communist party, the Party of the Democratic Left. The SSDP was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1994. In the national elections in November 1996, the SSDP received 16.1 percent of the vote. (*See also* Czech Social Democratic Party, Party of the Democratic Left)

SOARES, MÀRIO ALBERTO NOBRE LOPES (1924-) The leading Portuguese socialist of the post-1945 period, Mário Soares was born in Lisbon into an educated, middle-class family. He was educated at the Universities of Lisbon and the Sorbonne and graduated in law. His active opposition to the dictatorship of Salazar brought him imprisonment on 12 occasions and exile. In 1973 he formed the *Partido Socialista* (Socialist Party) and was its general secretary from 1973 to 1986 . He returned to Portugal in April 1974 after dictatorial rule was ended and served as prime minister from 1976 to 1978 and from 1983 to 1986. In 1986 he was elected president of Portugal. He was vice-president of the Socialist International (q.v.) from 1976 to 1986 and honorary president from 1986. As minister for foreign affairs in 1974-75, he ended Portuguese imperialism (q.v.) by granting independence to Portugal's remaining colonies. In 1977 he was granted the International Prize of Human Rights. In the same year he initiated the negotiations that led Portugal into the European Community. *(See also* Portuguese Socialist Party)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC AND LABOUR PARTY (SDLP) The SDLP was formed in Northern Ireland in August 1970 by Catholic

civil rights campaigners. It wanted the peaceful unification of Ireland. It was admitted to full membership of the Socialist International in the 1970s along with the Northern Ireland Labour Party (a small party formed in 1924 whose membership ceased in the 1980s). In the May 1996 elections for a constitutional forum, the SDLP attracted 21.4 percent of the vote. (See also Irish Labour Party)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION (SDF) The SDF was originally formed as the Democratic Federation by Henry Mayers Hyndman (q.v.) in 1883 and was renamed as the SDF in 1884. It represented the extreme left of British socialism in the late nineteenth century. Under Hyndman, it adhered to a dry interpretation of the works of Marx that emphasized class struggle. Within a year of its founding, it included five distinct groups: anarchists, municipal socialists, those led by Hyndman who favored a party based on the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.), trade unionists, and a mixed group of individuals who were in the process of forming their own views of socialism. In 1884 William Morris (q.v.) and his group left and formed their own organization, the Socialist League. In 1900 the SDF joined the Labour Representation Committee, the forerunner of the British Labour Party (q.v.), but left in 1901 because it wanted the issue of class war to unify the new organization. The SDF was never a mass party; in 1894 its membership was estimated at between 2,000 to 4,000. In 1903 some of its Scottish members left to form the Socialist Labour Party. (See also British Socialist Party, Henry Mayers Hyndman)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AMERICA This party was formed by Eugene V. Debs and Victor L. Berger (qq.v.) in 1898 from the remains of Social Democracy of America, a political party set up by Debs in Chicago in June 1897 and those members of the Socialist Labor Party (q.v.) who were opposed to Daniel DeLeon (q.v.). The Social Democracy of America party originally included a contingent of utopian socialists who wanted to form cooperative colonies. The organization ceased when Debs and Berger withdrew their followers. The Social Democratic Party of America was one of the main groups that formed the Socialist Party of America in Chicago in January 1901. (*See also* Socialist Party of America)

SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PEOPLE'S PARTY (SDPP) The SDPP (*Sosyal Demokrat Halçı Parti*) was formed in Turkey in 1985 by the merger of the Populist Party (formed in 1983) and the Social Democratic Party, which was formed at about the same time but was not allowed to contest the 1983 election. The SDPP received 24.8 percent of the vote in the 1987 elections and became the main opposition party. It has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1990. In February 1995 the SSPP became part of the Republican People's Party (*Cumhuriyet Halk Partisi*), a left-wing party formed in 1992 by 21 members of the Social Democratic Party, but that traced its origins to the party created by the founder of modern Turkey, Kemal Atatürk, in 1923.

SOCIAL DEMOCRATS USA The Social Democrats USA were formed in 1972 from the Socialist Party of America (q.v.) after its cochairman Michael Harrington (qq.v.) left to form the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee. The party has been a member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1972 and in 1987 claimed a membership of 3,000. (*See also* Socialist Party of America)

"SOCIALISM WITHOUT DOCTRINE" A term coined by the French labor investigator Albert Métin (1871-1919) to describe experiments in labor and economic regulation by the nonsocialist governments of Australia and New Zealand which seemed to be a form of state socialism, but were devoid of any reference to socialist theory. Métin visited Australia and New Zealand in 1899 and published his book *Socialisme sans doctrines* (generally translated as "socialism without doctrine" in Paris in 1901; it introduced these experiments to a French audience that included Alexandre Millerand (q.v.).

SOCIALIST GROUP IN THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT (SGEP) The SGEP was established in 1954 to provide a forum for socialist politicians who were members of the European Parliament. It is an associated organization with the Socialist International (q.v.) and the Confederation of the Socialist Parties in the European Community and has links with the International Union of Socialist Youth (q.v.). In 1990 the SGEP had 180 members, making it the largest single grouping within the European Parliament. (*See also* Confederation of the Socialist Parties in the European Community)

SOCIALIST INFORMATION AND LIAISON OFFICE (SILO) The SILO was formed at Clacton-on-Sea, England, in May 1946 to restore the links broken by World War II between groups of exiled socialists from continental Europe and, if possible, to develop common policies on problems of mutual interest. It represented nineteen socialist or social democratic parties and was made part of the secretariat of the British Labour Party (q.v.), which had been sponsoring meetings of these groups during World War II. Anti-German feeling carried over into the SILO with opposition to admitting the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) as a full member, a cruel irony given the party's suffering and resistance to the Nazis. At further conferences at Zurich (June 1946) and Antwerp (November 1947), it was agreed to organize the SILO into a more representative body, the Committee of the International Socialist Conference, which occurred in March 1948. (*See also* Committee of the International Socialist Conference)

SOCIALIST INTERAFRICAN (*See* League of African Democratic Socialist Parties)

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL (SI) The SI was formed in Frankfurt, Germany, in July 1951 out of the Committee of the International Socialist Conference (q.v.). Intended to be the successor to the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) as a forum for social democratic parties, it pledged itself to work for world peace and freedom, to resist exploitation and enslavement, to eliminate mass unemployment and poverty, to advocate the development of the individual personality as the basis for social advancement, and to affirm its support for collective security to resist totalitarian governments. Since its inception, the SI has provided a focus for international efforts to fight dictatorships, provided support to socialist/social democratic parties in exile, upheld liberties and the rule of law, increased aid to Third World countries, and increased expenditures on health, housing, education, and social security. The SI has always supported the use of peaceful means to bring about social and economic improvement. By 1966 the SI had representative from political parties in 30 countries representing about 60 million electors. Since the 1960s the SI has worked to promote arms control, disarmament, human rights, the peaceful conflict of international disputes, and understanding and amelioration of the problems of the Third World. Based in London,

the SI had 69 full member parties in 59 countries in 1996. (*See also* Committee of the International Socialist Conference, Socialist Information and Liaison Office)

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE FOR LATIN AMERICA AND THE CARIBBEAN (SICLAC) SICLAC was formed by the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1989 to encourage the growth of democracy in Latin America and to promote conciliation in the resolution of conflicts in Central America. (*See also* Socialist International)

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT ADVISORY COUNCIL (SIDAC) The SIDAC was set up as a permanent council of the Socialist International (q.v.) in Madrid, Spain, in 1980 to promote international efforts for arms control and disarmament. It replaced the Disarmament Study Group, which had been formed in May 1978 at Dakar, Senegal. (*See also* Nuclear Weapons, War)

SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL WOMEN (SWI) The SWI was founded in London in 1955 as the successor to the International Socialist Women's Committee (q.v.), which had been formed in 1907 as the International Women's Congress by the Second International (q.v.). As a section of the Socialist International (q.v.), the aims of SWI were to share information and to promote democratic socialism, equality of treatment between the sexes, human rights, economic development, and international peace. In 1995 the SWI had members in organizations in 60 countries. (*See also* International Socialist Women's Committee, Socialist International, Women)

SOCIALIST LABOR PARTY OF AMERICA (SLPA) The SLPA was established in 1877 as a successor to the Workingmen's Party (q.v.). It relied heavily on immigrant socialists, particularly Germans and Jews (q.v.) rather than the native born. It conducted much of its activity in taverns, which discouraged participation by women (q.v.). The SLPA enjoyed some success in the late 1870s when it was able to benefit from labor discontent and won some electoral support in Illinois. One of its members, Laurence Grönlund (q.v.), wrote *The Cooperative Commonwealth* (1884), which enjoyed an international readership in English countries. Otherwise the SLP failed to harness immigrant working-class discontent in the mid-

1880s. Nor did it form lasting links with other labor reformers, specifically the native born and the Irish Americans. This contributed to the image of socialism in the United States as "foreign." Daniel DeLeon (q.v.) became its leader, but faction fighting doomed the SLPA. Its pre-1900 membership was never more than 5,000. Nonetheless, it continued as an organization into the late 1890s. (*See also* Daniel DeLeon, Socialist Party of America)

SOCIALIST MOVEMENT FOR THE UNITED STATES OF EUROPE (SMUSE) Support for the idea of the economic integration of Europe among socialists, using the United States as a model, was expressed as early as 1925 in the Heidelberg Program of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.); it was a response to the economic dislocation caused by World War I. In 1927 Ernest Bevin (q.v.) succeeded in carrying a motion in support of this idea by the British Trades Union Congress. By 1939 Clement Attlee, the leader of the British Labour Party (qq.v.), favored the creation of a politically and economically federated Europe. In 1947 Philip Andre (1902-1970) created the SMUSE to cater to small but influential minorities in the British Labour Party and the German Social Democratic Party that supported European integration. The SMUSE largely lost its reason for existence when the Council of Europe was set up in 1949; subsequent other pan-European organizations eliminated the need for the SMUSE. (*See also* European Socialist Movement, Internationalism)

SOCIALIST PARTY OF AMERICA (SPA) The SPA was the principal socialist/social democratic party in the United States from its founding in 1901 until its breakup in 1972. It was formed by the Social Democratic Party of America and former members of the Socialist Labor Party (qq.v.) . The bulk of its supporters came from the skilled working class, tenant-farmers, and German and Jewish Americans. At first the SPA enjoyed a surge of support: between 1903 and 1912 its membership rose from nearly 16,000 to 118,000. But the SPA was too diverse to sustain this massive growth. Like early American socialist parties, such as the Socialist Labor Party of America, it was unduly reliant on immigrants; of its 79,400 members in 1915 about 40 percent were immigrants. The SPA conspicuously failed to attract native-born Americans of British or Irish stock. Internally, it was weakened by conflict between the "left" and the

"right" as well as by competition from the Industrial Workers of the World (q.v.). Apart from racial and regional divisions, the SPA lacked a trade union base. The peak national labor body, the American Federation of Labor, opposed alliances with any particular party, opposed socialism on principle, and showed no interest in organizing the unskilled.

Despite some successes in local government elections between 1910 and 1912 (in all about 2,000 socialists held local government posts in 1912), the membership of the SPA fell from 118,000 in 1912 to 82,300 by 1918. The SPA was harassed by the federal government for its pacifism (q.v.) during World War I, but the main reason for its decline thereafter was a severe split caused by conflict between the older SPA officials and the communists in 1919-20. The membership of the SPA, which had recovered to 108,500 in 1919, was slashed to 26,800 by 1920. The subsequent history of the SPA was one of a small interest group that depended heavily on a few able individuals, specifically Norman Thomas (q.v.), who ran for president between 1928 and 1948, and energetic personalities such as Harry Laidler (qq.v.). Although the SPA never attracted the mass following it had before 1913, it continued to be important as a source of ideas for the political agenda in the United States. Throughout its history the SPA was the American representative in the Second International, the Labor and Socialist International, and the Socialist International (qq.v.). (See also American Labor Party, Michael Harrington, Harry Wellington Laidler, Socialist Labor Party of America, Norman Thomas, Young People's Socialist League, *Why is There No Socialism in the United States?*)

SOCIALIST PARTY OF SENEGAL (SPS) The SPS (*Parti Socialiste du Sénégal*) was formed in 1958 from the *Parti Socialiste Sénégalais,* which was begun in 1929 by Lamine Guèye (1891-1968). In 1937 Guèye was made the director of the Senegal section of the metropolitan French Socialist Party (q.v.). The bulk of what was to be the SPS split from the party in 1948, and went its own way winning elections in 1951 and 1955. The SPS has been the governing party of Senegal since it gained independence in 1960. It has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since the 1970s and claimed a membership of 1.3 million in 1987. The president of Senegal from 1960 to 1980 was Léopold Sédar Senghor (1906-).

SOCIALIST SUNDAY SCHOOLS In the early 1830s followers of Owen and Chartism (q.v.) set up their own secular Sunday schools using the example of Christianity (q.v.) that operated until the 1850s. The next secular Sunday schools did not appear in the United Kingdom until 1886. In 1892 the socialist Sunday school movement was begun in London by Mary Gray, a member of the Social Democratic Federation (q.v.); the movement was started in Glasgow, Scotland, in 1896 and spread into northern England. In 1910, when a national union of these schools was formed, there were 100 schools with nearly 5,000 children and 1,000 adults. In the United States the first socialist Sunday schools were formed by German and Finnish immigrants before 1900, but the main development occurred with the growth of the Socialist Party of America (SPA) (q.v.). These schools sought to impart socialist ideas to the young. They never recovered from the split in the SPA in 1919-20. The last of these schools ceased to exist by 1937. (*See also* Education)

SOCIALIST UNION OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE (SUCEE) SUCEE was founded under the auspices of the Committee of the International Socialist Conference (q.v.) in London in 1949 to keep alive the traditions of social democracy so long as Central and Eastern Europe where under communist domination, to promote the cooperation of political parties in exile, and to appeal for moral support from Western democracies. In 1989 the SUCEE consisted of exiled social democratic parties from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Romania, the Ukraine, and Yugoslavia. With the overthrow of communist regimes in Central and Eastern Europe in the late 1980s and the emergence of democratically elected governments, the reason for the existence of SUCEE disappeared. (*See also* Committee of the International Socialist Conference)

SOCIALIST UNION OF POPULAR FORCES (SUPF) The SUPF (*Union Socialiste des Forces Populares*) was founded in Morocco in September 1974. It was suppressed by the government in June 1981 for its role in a strike over rising prices. The SUPF was closely linked with the main labor federation of Morocco, the *Confédération Démocratique du Travail* (Democratic Confederation of Labor). The previous year it had criticized the fairness of the conduct of the national election. It was a member of the League of

African Democratic and Socialist Parties (q.v.) in 1987 and claimed a membership of 100,000. It was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) in 1994.

SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY (SUP) The SUP (*Partito Socialista Unitario*) was established in San Marino in 1975 from the left wing of the Independent Social Democratic Socialist Party (formed in 1957) after a split in the same year. The Independent Social Democratic Socialist Party had been a consultant member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1961, and the SUP has been a full member since 1980.

SOCIALIST WORKERS' SPORTS INTERNATIONAL (SWSI) An international socialist gathering for sports and games was originally set up in May 1913 in Ghent, Belgium, as the International Socialist Federation. It was re-established as the SWPI in 1920 to encourage sports as a means of promoting world peace. It held two large-scale International Workers' Olympiads in Frankfurt in 1925 and Vienna in 1931. The SWPI worked closely with the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.). In 1938 the organizations affiliated with the SWPI had a combined membership of 380,000. The SWSI was revived in 1946 as the Labor Sports International (q.v.) (*See also* Labor Sports International)

SOCIALIZATION OBJECTIVE The *socialization objective* is the term commonly used to refer to the presence of objectives in the platforms of social democratic parties that advocate public ownership or control of the economy. Such objectives were in the platforms of the British and Australian labor parties after World War I when inflation had reduced real wages for employees. This caused widespread discontent and substantially increased support for left-wing policies.

The 1906 constitution of the British Labour Party (q.v.) made no mention of the general ideological goals of the party, and was confined to organizational details. In contrast the program of the Independent Labour Party in 1907 declared that the aim of the party was "to establish the Socialist State, when land and capital will be held by the community and used for the well-being of the community, and when the exchange of commodities will be organized also by the community, so as to secure the highest possible standard of life for the individual." The British Labour

Party adopted a socialization objective in 1918 as part of its reorganization. Drafted mainly by Sidney Webb (q.v.), the objective read: "To secure for the workers by hand and brain the full fruits of their industry and the most equitable distribution thereof that may be possible upon the basis of the common ownership of the means of production, distribution and exchange, and the best obtainable system of popular administration and control of each industry or service." This later became clause IV of the constitution. An attempt to abolish clause IV in 1959-60 failed, and it remained formal Labour Party policy until April, 29 1995, when it was replaced by a wholly new clause declaring the party to be a democratic socialist party that "believes that by the strength of our common endeavor, we achieve more than we achieve alone so as to create for each of us the means to realize our true potential and for all of us a community in which the power, wealth and opportunity are in the hands of the many not the few, where the rights we enjoy reflect the duties we owe, and where we live together, freely, in a spirit of solidarity, tolerance and respect." Other parts of the new clause IV recognized the importance of a dynamic economy based on the private sector with only those enterprises "essential to the common good" being owned by the public sector. Social justice, accountable government, environmental protection, defense, and cooperation with international bodies were vital "to secure peace, freedom, democracy, economic security and environmental protection for all."

In 1940 the Socialist Party of America (q.v.) included a detailed socialization objective in its platform aimed at breaking monopolies in coal, oil, lumber, railroads, and aluminum to give consumers greater economic choices, but the platform made it clear that socialization was not to be pursued just for its own sake.

In 1919 the federal conference of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) (q.v.) agreed to insert as an objective of the party the "democratic control of all agencies of production, distribution and exchange." At the 1921 federal conference, this objective was broadened to read: "The socialization of industry, production, distribution and exchange." In 1927 the federal conference again revised the socialization objective to include extending the power of the government-owned Commonwealth Bank until "complete control of banking is in the hands of the people." Since 1957 the socialization objective has been progressively diluted on the grounds that it enabled the conservative parties to portray the ALP

as an extremist party that could not be trusted with government. By 1991 the objective had been amended to read "the democratic socialization of industry, production, distribution and exchange, to the extent necessary to eliminate exploitation and other anti-social features of these fields." The Dutch Social Democratic Workers'/Labor Party (q.v.) adopted socialization objectives for industry and agriculture in 1920, but since 1945 has adopted more moderate policies and removed Marxist references from its principles in 1959. (*See also* Nationalization)

SOREL, GEORGES (1847-1922) Engineer and political theorist, Sorel was born in Cherbourg, France, to middle-class parents. In 1892 he retired to devote himself full-time to writing. He became interested in Marxism and anarcho-syndicalism (qq.v.) after 1893. In 1898 he published a theoretical analysis of syndicalism. Although a critic of utopian socialism and revisionism (qq.v.), he respected Eduard Bernstein (q.v.). In 1908 he published the work for which he became best known, *Réflexions sur la violence* (Reflections on Violence) which went though four editions by 1919. Sorel's ideas occupied an uncertain ground between socialism and fascism. He opposed socialist/social democratic political parties on the grounds that they were merely seeking political power and would simply substitute one system of privilege with another. More generally, he opposed the emphasis on rationalism in socialist thought and wanted it to pay greater attention to the role of custom and tradition in the complexity of real life. The idea of myth was central to his thought. Myths were not necessarily true, but they were indispensable in inspiring, mobilizing, and maintaining groups that sought change. Sorel used the example of the myth of the Second Coming of Christ in sustaining Christianity. He saw the general strike as the myth of the proletariat; it might fail, but failure created martyrs whose memory would reinforce the myth. Combined with his rejection of democracy, the myth of the general strike emphasized the importance of fighting to sustain the struggle against capitalism. Essentially Sorel's myths were intuitive and beyond rational argument and discussion. (*See also* Syndicalism)

SOUTH AFRICAN LABOUR PARTY (SALP) Socialism in South Africa has a tenuous history because of entrenched racial divisions and government violence. What socialism existed was imported by skilled workers from Europe. Between 1902 and 1914 versions of

the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Labour Party (qq.v.) were set up and a South African Socialist Federation was formed at Johannesburg in 1907. South Africa was represented at the conferences of the Second International (q.v.) in 1904 and 1907. But all the South African socialist bodies remained small and well aware of the lack of community support for racially mixed political parties. Ramsay MacDonald (1902), Keir Hardie (1908), and Tom Mann (1910) (qq.v.) all visited South Africa, but had to be mindful of racial divisions among the European working class. Racial segregation was reinforced by the craft exclusiveness of British immigrants and by Australian immigrants who brought with them ideas of racial exclusion based on immigration policy. Working-class Europeans wanted to restrict the supply of low-wage, non-European labor. The SALP was officially formed in October 1909 in the aftermath of the 1907 strike by Rand miners. Its first leader was a mining engineer, Colonel F. H. P. Cresswell (1866-1932). Like the trade unions, the SALP made slow progress. It won 5 percent of the vote in the lower house in the 1910 elections and 13 percent in 1920, winning 21 out of 134 seats. The SALP operated in a climate marked by much official violence. Strikes in 1913, 1914, 1918, 1919, and 1922 were suppressed by the government with violence and much bloodshed. The SALP had some success, achieving a majority on the Transvaal provincial council between 1913 and 1917, but otherwise its support was limited. During World War I the left wing split from the SALP and joined the Communist Party in 1920. Thereafter the SALP was only a marginal presence in South African political affairs. It won 5 out of 156 seats at the election in 1953 and none thereafter. (*See also* African Socialism)

SPAAK, PAUL-HENRI (1899-1972) A leading Belgian social democratic politician after 1945, Spaak was born near Brussels and qualified as a lawyer, a profession he practiced from 1921 to 1931. He came from a prominent middle-class family. One of his grandfathers had been a prime minister for the Liberal Party in the nineteenth century. His mother was a socialist who was elected to parliament in 1921. Spaak was elected to parliament for the Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party (q.v.) in 1932, edited a left-wing socialist newspaper, served as foreign minister from 1936 to 1938, and was prime minister of a coalition government from 1938 to 1939. Because of his move to the right of the party, Spaak was more acceptable than the more obvious choice of Émile Vandervelde

(q.v.). After the German invasion, Spaak left for Britain and joined the Belgian government in exile. After World War II, he again served a foreign minister from 1945 to 1947 and led a coalition government from 1947 to 1950. His government was responsible for giving women the suffrage (qq.v.) in 1948 and placing the national bank under government control. He also helped to persuade King Leopold to abdicate in 1951after strong opposition to the king from Belgian socialists.

Spaak's main achievements lay with his role in forging greater European unity. He was instrumental in the preparation and signing of the Brussels Treaty which provided for mutual aid between the Benelux countries, the United Kingdom and France. He played a leading role in the formation of the European Economic Community. He was leader of the negotiations for the Treaty of Rome which was signed in 1957 and was secretary-general of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization from 1957 to 1961. Spaak left the Belgian Socialist Party in 1966. (*See also* Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party

SPANISH CIVIL WAR The Spanish Civil War was an important rallying point for left-wing supporters in the 1930s. Widely interpreted as a proxy war against fascism generally, it was also a complicated and controversial conflict on many levels. In February 1936 a Popular Front (q.v.) government supported by republicans, socialists, syndicalists, and communists was elected to govern, but excluded the Communists. In July 1936 General Franco began a military revolt against the republican government in Spanish Morocco. He was generously aided by the fascist government of Mussolini (q.v.). In particular, Hitler's transfer of Franco's troops by aircraft (commonly regarded as the first of its kind in history) in the early stages of the revolt helped tip the military balance in Franco's favor. Britain and France declared a policy of nonintervention which in effect denied assistance to the republican government. Franco deliberately fought the war slowly to draw out his opponents to kill them. The republican government was assisted by the Soviet Union (which was paid ultimately with the government's gold reserves) and by the International Brigades (q.v.).

On the republican side, there was much internal conflict. Its aggressive anticlerical policies (such as the confiscation of all religious property on July 28, 1936) alienated much internal and international support despite its positive programs of land

redistribution and educational development. There was also much hostility between anarchists and other left-wing republican supporters. Anarchists, who had staged some local uprisings previously, were admitted to the republican government in Catalonia in September 1936 and in Madrid in December 1936. The conflict came to a head in May 1937 when the communists in Barcelona, the anarchists' stronghold, attacked the anarchists whom they accused of sabotage. The attack marked the beginning of the end of anarchism in Spain as a significant force and the loss of moral authority by the republican cause. (*See also* Anarchism, Anarcho-Syndicalism, International Brigades)

SPANISH SOCIALIST WORKERS' PARTY (SSWP) The SSWP (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*) was formed in Madrid in May 1879. In 1886 it began to produce a socialist newspaper, *El Socialista* (The Socialist), but otherwise was able to achieve little on its own. The Spanish economy was overwhelmingly agricultural; up to 1910 two-thirds of the employed labor force worked in agriculture (q.v.). Membership data for the SSWP are sparse, but it is known it had 5,000 paid members in the Asturias in northern Spain in 1899 and seems to have had a national membership of about 9,000 in 1903. With limited industrialization, it failed to build mass support. Even allowing for official interference, the SSWP won only 25,400 votes in the elections of 1901 and even by 1914 there was only one socialist representative in the *Cortes* or parliament.

At the 1923 elections the SSWP increased in representation in the *Cortes* to 7, largely because of its opposition to Spain's war in Morocco, but was unable to make use of its gains because of a coup d'état by Primo de Rivera that began a period of dictatorship lasting until April 1931. The SSWP led a bloodless revolution against the dictatorship, which forced the abdication of the king, Alfonso XIII, in 1931. The elections of June 1931 increased the parliamentary representation of the SSWP to 117 out of 470 seats and enabled Alcalá Zamora to become prime minister of Spain's first socialist-led government. The Zamora government brought a new constitution that contained the standard features of socialism at that time, namely: an emphasis on egalitarianism (q.v.), full adult suffrage (q.v.) at 23 years, and a critical attitude toward property and wealth (q.v.). The government was also hostile to religion (q.v.) in the form of the Catholic Church, a policy that caused Zamora to resign. He

was replaced by Manuel Azaña. The government faced serious challenges from many quarters. The conservatives did not accept its legitimacy. The military was not only conservative, but operated effectively outside of government control. Separatist movements were particularly strong in Catalonia (where a separate socialist party had been formed in 1923) and in the Basque region. In 1933 a more moderate government was elected, but tensions remained high. There was a revolt in Catalonia, and in the 1936 elections a Popular Front (q.v.) government was elected with 256 seats out of a total of 473. The Spanish Civil War began soon afterward. Defeated in war, the SSWP continued as a party in exile and was a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) from 1951.

Franco's dictatorship ended with his death in 1975. Democracy was restored and the SSWP was legalized in February 1977; in that year it claimed 150,000 members. Under its leader Felipe González, the SSWP adopted more moderate policies, although it remained to the left end of the political spectrum; it also received financial assistance from the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.). In 1982 the SSWP won government for the first time since 1939 under González, who held power until the party's defeat in the elections of March 1996. Under his administration, the welfare state (q.v.) was increased, the role of government-owned enterprises in the economy was reduced, and Spain joined the North Atlantic Treaty Organization despite long-standing opposition from within the SSWP. (*See also* Felipe González, Spanish Civil War)

SPENCE, WILLIAM GUTHRIE (1846-1926) One of Australia's leading labor leaders in the late nineteenth century, Spence was born on one of the Orkney Islands of Scotland and emigrated with his family to Geelong, Victoria, in 1852. He had no formal education and worked as a butcher's boy, a miner, and a shepherd. He assisted with the recruiting drive that led to the formation of the Amalgamated Miners' Association in the gold mining town of Bendigo in 1874. From the mid-1880s Spence was an early supporter of the need for organized labor to have political representation. He served as a Labor member in the New South Wales parliament from 1898 to 1901 and in the federal parliament from 1901 to 1917. In 1917 he was permitted to resign from the Australian Labor Party (q.v.) rather than be expelled for his support of conscription during World War I. (*See also* Australian Labor Party)

SPORTS (*See* Socialist Workers' Sports International, Labor Sports International)

STATE SOCIALISM (*See* "Socialism without Doctrine")

STAUNING, THORVALD (1873-1942) Leader of the Danish Social Democratic Party (DSDP), Stauning was born in Copenhagen. He became a cigar sorter and in 1886 became leader of the cigar employees' union, a position he held until he was elected to the lower house of the Danish parliament (*Folketing*) in 1908. In 1913 he was elected the city council of Copenhagen. As leader of the DSDP, he joined the Radical ministry between 1916 and 1920, mainly as minister for labor. He served as prime minister from 1924 to 1926 and from 1929 to 1940. After the DSDP won a majority in the upper house of parliament (Landsting), Stauning was able to bring in a large number of progressive laws. He ceased to be prime minister after the Nazi takeover of Denmark in April 1940. (*See also* Danish Social Democratic Party)

SUFFRAGE Universal suffrage was the foremost demand of socialist/social democratic parties by the 1890s. Significant advances were made during the nineteenth century to give the vote to men over 21 in North America, Australia, France, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom, but even these were often qualified by cumbersome registration procedures, unfair electoral practices, lack of payment for elected representatives, and the general exclusion of women from the franchise. Elsewhere, the suffrage was either nonexistent or operated under conditions that made it a farce. From the time of Louis Blanc (q.v.), socialists who believed in the democratic process regarded the universal franchise as the essential political reform that would pave the way for the implementation of socialist policies. The Erfurt Program (1891) of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) made universal, equal, and direct suffrage for all men and women (q.v.) over 20 its first demand. It also wanted proportional representation, equality of electorates based on the population census, two-year parliaments, payments for elected representatives, and the elections being held on a legal day of rest.

The other European socialist/social democratic parties also made the suffrage and related electoral reform their first demand in their programs. In Austria and Eastern Europe these parties actively campaigned for universal suffrage in 1905. On September 15, 1905,

the Hungarian Social Democratic Party (q.v.) held a demonstration in Budapest that attracted 100,000 people. On October 31 the Austrian Social Democratic Party (q.v.) conducted a demonstration of 50,000 people in Vienna for universal suffrage and electoral reform. On November 28, 1905 the party organized mass demonstrations in support of universal suffrage in Vienna (250,000), Bohemia (260,000) and Prague (100,000); in total about one million people took part in these demonstrations throughout the Austro-Hungarian empire with minimum violence, but it was not until 1907 that they achieved the reforms they demanded. Although the suffrage in Britain was considerably widened in the nineteenth century, notably by the legislation of 1867 and 1884, registration procedures restricted it in practice. In February 1901 the Labour Representation Committee (the British Labour Party [q. v.] from 1906) supported adult franchise for both sexes, but the issue of the vote for women was given a low priority by the party before 1913 because of the middle-class domination of the suffragette movement. In 1904 the Labour Party decided to support full adult suffrage for both sexes. (*See also* Women)

SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY (SSDWP) The SSDWP (*Sveriges Socialdemokratistiska Arbetarparti*) has long enjoyed a reputation for being the most successful and effective practitioner of democratic socialism in the world. It was formed in 1889 by skilled employees who had encountered socialist ideas in Germany, Denmark, and Britain. Its electoral progress was slow because universal manhood suffrage was only gradually introduced between 1907 and 1911; there was no SSDWP representative in the Swedish parliament until 1897. Even so, these reforms did not apply to the upper chamber, which was dominated by wealthy urban businessmen and farmers until its reformation in 1917. The membership of the SSDWP grew from 10,000 to 75,000 between 1895 and 1913 and to 143,000 by 1920. Between 1902 and 1911 the SSDWP's share of the national vote rose from 4 to 30 percent.

From 1917 to 1920 the SSWP had its first taste of government when it ruled in coalition with the *Folk* (People's) Party, which had been formed in 1902 to press for universal manhood suffrage. But otherwise the members of the Folk Party had insufficient in common to maintain their unity, and the coalition broke up. The SSDWP continued as a minority government for six months. The

nationalization (q.v.) policies of the SSDWP distinguished it from other major Swedish political parties and made it hard for it to form lasting coalitions in the 1920s. As a result there was a high turnover of governments, with the SSDWP forming governments between 1921 to 1923 and 1924 to 1926

The election victory in 1932 marked a real watershed in modern Swedish politics, since this was the victory that enabled the SSDWP to lead Swedish governments until 1976, creating a model for the welfare state (q.v.), and to regulate of the economy without resort to direct nationalization. Thereafter, Sweden's high inflation rate and unfavorable balance of payments dented the SSDWP's electoral popularity. The SSDWP was a minority government between 1970 and 1976, 1982 and 1991, and from 1994 to date. After the assassination of Sven Olaf Palme (q.v.) in 1986, Ingvar Gösta Carlsson (1934-) was prime minister until 1991 and from 1994 to 1995. Göran Persson (1949-) has been prime minister since March 1996. (See also Per Albin Hansson, Tage Erlander, Sven Olaf Palme, Ernst Wigforss)

SWISS SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY (SSDP) The SSDP (*Sozialdemokratische Partei der Schweiz*) began as the Swiss Socialist Party in 1888. By 1900 it had 9,000 members and attracted nearly a fifth of the national vote. During World War I the SSDP turned increasingly left-wing. In 1919 it withdrew from the Second International and the leadership applied to join the Comintern (qq.v.) while at the same time refusing to withdraw from parliamentary participation. The application to join the Comintern was rejected by the rank and file. Later the SSDP split and its left wing formed a communist party. The SSDP joined the International Working Union of Socialist Parties in 1921 and its replacement, the Labor and Socialist International (qq.v.) in 1923. In the 1920s and early 1930s the SSDP remained strongly antiwar, but the rise of Hitler in Germany and Dollfuss in Austria forced it to adopt a policy that emphasized national defense. The SSDP was very concerned about unemployment (q.v.); it wanted to use the defense surplus in the budget to reduce unemployment (q.v.), but at a national referendum in 1935 this proposal—which was linked with a proposal to regulate the financial market and monopolies—received only 43 percent of the vote. In 1943 the SSDP increased its representation in parliament and became part of the governing coalition. In the same year it also adopted a policy known as "New

Switzerland" that called for the expansion of the welfare state (q.v.), economic planning, and the nationalization of privately owned monopolies in key parts of the economy; at the same time, the SSDP maintained its anticommunism. During the 1960s the SSDP opposed nuclear weapons (q.v.) and supported graduated taxation (q.v.) and the use of popular initiatives for federal legislation; it claimed 55,000 members in 1975. It has been a leader in advancing the rights of women (q.v.) and has been a member of coalition governments since 1959. In the national elections of October 1995, the SSDP attracted 21.8 percent of the vote (compared to 18.5 percent in 1991), making it the largest single Swiss political party.

SYNDICALISM Syndicalism was a set of practices and ideologies developed by French organized labor in the 1890s and 1900s. It derived from the French *syndical* meaning simply trade union. As an ideology, syndicalism (or revolutionary syndicalism) meant the aggressive use of unions to gain political and social change. The class war was central to syndicalist thought, which saw governments and political parties, including socialist parties, as instruments of working-class oppression. Syndicalist thought stressed direct action, particularly the general strike (q.v.), as the means to gain its objectives. It owed as much, if not more, to work experience as to ideas. Syndicalism grew out of conditions peculiar to France, namely, its revolutionary tradition (1789, 1830, 1848, 1871), the self-reliant attitude of its working class, the relatively slow growth of industrialization, and the importance of small enterprises in the economy. The French Charter of Amiens (1906), which was adopted by the national organization of French labor, the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (q.v.), called for higher wages and shorter hours to be won by taking over the capitalist class and the general strike.

In Italy, syndicalism began to emerge after 1902 as a reaction to reformism in the Italian Socialist Party (q.v.) and developed into an unstable combination of Marxism and populism. Some of the Italian syndicalists became fascists. For example, Edmondo Rossini (1884-1965), the head of the fascist labor union federation from 1922 to 1928, had been a revolutionary syndicalist labor organizer in Italy and New York before 1914. In Spain, syndicalism remained important until the late 1930s. In North America, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) represented an indigenous form of syndicalism but there was also a Syndicalist League of North

America that was formed in Chicago and operated between 1912 and 1914; the league had about 2,000 members and unlike the IWW attempted to infiltrate established labor unions (q.v.) with syndicalist ideas. (*See also* Anarchism, Anarcho-Syndicalism, Industrial Workers of the World, International of Revolutionary Syndicalists, Tom Mann, Fernand Léonce Emile Pelloutier)

T

TANNER, VÄINÖ ALFRED (1885-1966) Finnish socialist Tanner was first elected to the parliament (*Diet*) in 1907 for the Finnish Social Democratic Party (FSDP). He served as minister for finance in 1917 and as prime minister of a minority government during 1926, during which time he was able to introduce old-age pensions and a health insurance scheme. He also became leader of the Finnish cooperative movement and played an important role in the International Co-operative Alliance (q.v.). In 1937 he became minister for foreign affairs in a coalition government with the Agrarian Party and later served as minister for food supplies. He was strongly anticommunist and remained a force in Finnish politics in the 1940s and 1950s. He was leader of the FSDP from 1957 to 1963. (*See also* Finnish Social Democratic Party)

TANZANIAN SOCIALISM (*See* African Socialism)

TAWNEY, RICHARD HENRY (1880-1962) British historian and Christian socialist, Tawney was born in Calcutta, India, was educated at Oxford, and became active in the Workers' Educational Association. After military service, he became a professor at the London School of Economics in 1931, a post he held until 1949. A founder of modern economic history, he wrote *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926) and began a long-running debate about the role of the gentry in England between 1558 and 1640. His best-known socialist works were *The Acquisitive Society* (1921) and *Equality* (1931) in which he attacked both the British class system and the acquisitive behavior encouraged by capitalism as inherently corrupting. He advocated comprehensive welfare services and graduated taxation (q.v.) as ways of promoting greater social equality. (*See also* Egalitarianism)

TAXATION Graduated taxation was a standard feature of socialist policy from the 1840s. A heavy, graduated income tax was among the measures advocated by Marx and Engels in the *Communist Manifesto* (1848). By 1900 graduated taxation of incomes, profits, and wealth (q.v.) was a general item in the programs of European social democratic/socialist parties. It was advocated as a replacement for consumption taxes, which bore heaviest on the working class. Ironically, it was high government expenditure caused by the arms race of the 1900s and its acceleration by World War I that brought about the introduction of the income tax in many Western countries (for example, in Australia in 1915). After World War II, social democratic governments introduced high levels of taxation to pay for socialist objectives such as the welfare state. This led to tax revolts in Denmark (1973) and Sweden (1991). (*See also* Wealth, Welfare State)

TEMPERANCE Temperance—the practice or advocacy of the temperate consumption of alcohol and tobacco or abstaining from them altogether—is a forgotten, but once notable feature of socialism before the 1930s. Temperance was not only a method of self-discipline for serious socialists, but also a way of denying income to brewers and publicans whom they saw as exploiters of the working class (q.v.). Both Keir Hardie and George Lansbury (qq.v.), for instance, were total abstainers as was Arthur Henderson (1863-1936), who led the British Labour Party from 1908 to 1910 and from 1931 to 1932. An international body, the General Secretariat of Abstaining Socialists, was formed in 1910 and was replaced by the International Union of Socialist Teetotallers in 1921, but this body failed to survive into the 1930s. (*See also* Religion)

THOMAS, NORMAN (1884-1968) Thomas was the best known American moderate socialist from the late 1920s to the late 1950s. Born in Marion, Ohio, he was educated at Princeton University and Union Theological Seminary and worked as a Presbyterian minister in New York City between 1912 and 1918. He resigned his position to devote himself full-time to the Socialist Party of America (SPA). A pacifist, Thomas supported conscientious objectors during World War I, protested the internment of Japanese Americans and mass bombing during World War II and later the Vietnam War. He advocated the introduction of a comprehensive social welfare system when it seemed a radical idea in American politics. He and his ideas

became more widely known as a result of his unsuccessful attempts to be elected to public office, first in New York State in 1924 and then as the presidential candidate for the SPA between 1928 and 1948. In the 1932 presidential campaign he received 884,781 votes. He was also a great defender of civil liberties, such as the rights of employees to form labor unions (q.v.), freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly. (*See also* Socialist Party of America)

TRISTAN, FLORA (1803-1844) French socialist, feminist, and author, Tristan (her full name was Flore Célestine Thérèsa Henriette Tristan-Moscoso) was born in Paris. Her father was a Peruvian Spaniard and her mother was French. Although her father was socially prominent, his unexpected death when she was young plunged the family into poverty. Because her parents had not completed the civil formalities needed to legalize their marriage, she had to suffer the stigma of illegitimacy. Her poverty denied her a formal education, but she demonstrated both literary and artistic talent. Humiliated by her illegitimacy, she compensated by claiming descent from the last Inca king, Montezuma. An unhappy marriage and various travels, including five years in service with an English family between 1825 and 1830, provided her with the material for an autobiography (1830) and a radical outlook on society. In 1840 she published *Promenades dans Londres* (Walks in London) which gave an account of English working-class living conditions and Chartism (q.v.). She became interested in the emancipation of the working class and women (qq.v.). Inspired by the example of the clubs of French craftsmen (*compagnonnages*) and the failures to unite these clubs and other working-class societies, she proposed an international union for the working class in her book *L'Union ouvrière* (The Worker's Union) in 1843. Her idea was that all interested workers in all countries should contribute a small amount of money each year to build facilities in towns for education, health, and culture. She had no interest in suffrage (q.v.) for women, but ardently advocated women's right to education and employment on equal terms with men. She died prematurely of typhoid and was one of the grandmothers of Paul Gauguin. (*See also* Women)

TRADE UNIONS (*See* Labor Unions)

U

UNEMPLOYMENT Unemployment had been a feature of European society well before the advent of the Industrial Revolution (q.v.). In England the first legislation requiring the unemployed to be provided with work by local government was introduced as early as 1576. But it was during the nineteenth century that unemployment became a serious social problem, aggravated by population growth. Mass unemployment was seen by socialist critics from 1840 onward as one of the main reasons for the introduction of a new social system. The system of national workshops advocated by Louis Blanc (q.v.) was intended to alleviate unemployment. In the United Kingdom, unemployment was always a main policy concern of Keir Hardie (q.v.). The large-scale and prolonged unemployment of the Depression in the 1930s made unemployment—expressed as a commitment to full employment—and social welfare top priorities for social democratic governments after World War II. (*See also* Capitalism)

UNIFIED DEMOCRATIC UNION OF CYPRUS (UDUC) The UDUC (*Eniea Demokratiki Enosi Kyprou*) was established in 1969. It is opposed to the Turkish occupation of northern Cyprus. Its newspaper circulation suggested a membership of about 6,000 in the mid-1980s. It has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since about 1987.

UNITED WORKERS' PARTY (MAPAM) The Mapam (*Mifleget Hapoalim Hamenchedet*) was formed in 1948 by left-wing Jewish intellectuals in Israel who were part of the Kibbutz (q.v.) movement. Mapam is the only Zionist political party to admit Arabs as members. It has a policy of peace and social and economic equality. It has been a full member of the Socialist International (q.v.) since about 1987. (*See also* Israel Labor Party)

UTOPIAN SOCIALISM The term *utopian socialism* was used by Marx and Engels (q.v.) to describe their socialist predecessors; the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) refers to "critical-utopian socialism" to describe visionary schemes for separate societies practicing social equality as advocated by Étienne Cabet (1788-1856), Robert Owen and Charles Fourier. The term *utopian* referred to *Utopia*, a Latin work published by Sir Thomas More in 1516 and first translated into

English in 1551. Derived from Greek and meaning "Noplace," *Utopia* described an imaginary, ideal society located on an island off the Americas. The work was implicitly critical of the society of his day. More began a literary genre that has since been used by over 200 writers as a vehicle for the promotion of a range of social and political ideologies. Karl Kautsky (q.v.) published a study of More's *Utopia* in 1888. Three of the best-known utopian works which promoted socialism or influenced the development of socialism were: Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward* (1887), William Morris' *News from Nowhere* (1890), and H. G. Wells' *A New Utopia* (1905).

Marx and Engels (qq.v.) used utopian socialism as a contrast to their "scientific" socialism, and the term was later used in a derogatory sense against other socialists. Nevertheless, as the works of Bellamy, Morris, and Wells showed, the visionary idea of a future socialist society where poverty and unemployment would not exist was very strong from the 1880s to about 1914 and continued to be a feature of socialist writings into the 1930s. (*See also* Communes, Literature, Robert Owen, Charles Fourier)

V

VANDERVELDE, ÉMILE (1866-1938) Belgian socialist politician and theorist, Vandervelde was born in Ixelles, Belgium, and studied law and social science at the university of Brussels from which he graduated with a doctorate. He joined the Belgian Workers' Party (BSP) in 1886 and in 1894 was one of its twenty-seven members elected to parliament. He was one of the founders of a program of university extension courses in 1892, the forerunner of the Center of Workers' Education set up by the BSP in 1911. He was a leader in the campaign to denounce appalling human rights abuses in the Congo perpetrated by King Leopold II. He visited the Congo and wrote an account of what he saw there. Unlike the bulk of the BSP, he realized that the only good option was to transfer control of the Congo to the Belgian parliament; this was in fact done in 1908.

Vandervelde was also a writer and a theorist. Unlike most of his German colleagues, he regarded socialism as an objective to be pursued not just by political parties but also by labor unions, the cooperative movement (qq.v.), and other bodies. He wrote Le *Collectivisme et l'évolution industrielle* (1900) which was translated

into English as *Collectivism and Industrial Evolution* in 1907 and *Le Socialisme contre l'état* (Socialism against the State) in 1918.

Vandervelde was an active participant in international socialism and chairman of the international bureau of the Second International (q.v.). He was also a member of the executive of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.) between 1923 and 1925.

As leader of the BSP, he was invited to join the Belgian war cabinet in 1916, an appointment the party agreed to. He was minister for justice from 1918 to 1921 and was a minister in some capacity from 1925 until his death. He visited Russia in 1917 in support of the Allied war effort and denounced Leninism (q.v.) and the Bolshevik coup. Vandervelde was very much a revisionist (q.v.) socialist and was one of the few socialist leaders of his time to be concerned about the failure of socialism to gain supporters among agricultural workers. (*See also* Belgian Workers/Socialist Party, Camile Huysmans)

VIENNA INTERNATIONAL (*See* International Working Union of Socialist Parties)

VIETNAM SOCIALIST PARTY (VSP) The first signs of socialism in Vietnam, as opposed to communism (q.v.), appeared in 1931 when some socialists joined the Saigon chapter of the French Socialist Party (q.v.). The VSP was founded secretly in September 1952 and came to be legally recognized through support from the French Socialist Party, which also gained it the status of a consultative member of the Socialist International (q.v.) between 1955 and 1969. Its leading figure was its secretary, Dr. Pham Van Ngoi, a medical practitioner. Representatives of the VSP were given observer status at the Asian Socialist Conference (q.v.) in 1953 and full membership status in 1956, when it had about 1,000 members. The VSP wanted an independent Vietnam and universal suffrage (q.v.). Repression by the Diem government as well as intense competition from the communists ensured that the VSP did not survive beyond the 1960s. (*See also* Asian Socialist Conference)

W

WAR Except for purely defensive purposes, socialists have been historically opposed to war and particularly to militarism. By the end of the nineteenth century socialists tended to regard war as the

outcome of capitalist competition, or the result of engineering by undemocratic forces within society to benefit capitalism and to divert the working class from uniting for social and economic reform. Imperialism (q.v.) was widely seen as a cause of war. The Erfurt Program (1891) of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) demanded that questions of war and peace be decided by democratic processes and that international disputes be resolved by arbitration. It also wanted Germany's standing army to be replaced by a militia based on military training for all. Similar sentiments were expressed in the other programs of the socialist/social democratic parties of the period.

In Sweden the socialists helped avert a war when they threatened the government with mass demonstrations and strikes to allow Norway to secede peacefully in 1905. The buildup of international tensions in Western Europe and their outbreak into war was foreseen by the Second International (q.v.), which attempted to use an appeal to the solidarity of the working class to prevent war.

Armies were suspect institutions among socialists because governments could use them to break strikes. In 1910 the government of Aristide Briand (1862-1932), who had been a socialist until 1906, used the army to break a railroad strike. In 1911 the *Confédération du Travail* (French Confederation of Labor) introduced a policy of sending army conscripts a small payment from their trade unions to remind them of their links with, and obligation to, the working class. At the same time, it was generally recognized that armies were needed for defense. In 1910 the leader of the French Socialist Party, Jean Jaurès (q.v.), advocated a nonprofessional citizens' army in his book *L'Armée nouvelle* (The New Army). Citizens would spend short periods of training and then return to their regular occupations. Such an army was designed only to defend against invasion.

In the 1930s pacifist sentiments were strong among socialists. But they were challenged by the menace of fascism and especially by the Spanish Civil War (q.v.), which attracted many foreign socialists such as George Orwell (q.v.), to fight on the republican side During World War II European socialists and communists distinguished themselves in the resistance to the Nazis. (*See also* Imperialism, Nuclear Weapons, Pacifism)

WATSON, JOHN CHRISTIAN (1867-1941) Watson was the first leader of the Australian Labor Party (ALP) (q.v.) to become head of the national government. He was born in Valparaiso, Chile, as his

parents' emigrated from Scotland to New Zealand, where he became a printer. He arrived in New South Wales, Australia, in 1886 and became president of the Sydney Trades and Labour Council (a trade union federation) in 1893 and of the Australian Labour Federation, a labor union body, that advocated the direct representation of labor in parliament. Watson joined the Australian Labor Party (ALP) and presided over the trade union conference in New South Wales in 1894. Labor candidates for parliament had to sign a pledge that bound them to follow the majority decisions of the parliamentary party (known as caucus). In 1894 he was also elected to the parliament of New South Wales. He entered federal politics in 1901 and was made leader of the parliamentary party. Because of the pledge, the Labor members were disciplined in their voting and therefore able to exert disproportionate influence on their disorganized opponents. The ALP increased its representation in the federal parliament after the December 1903 election. Watson formed the first ALP government on April 27, 1903 with himself as prime minister and treasurer; he held office until August 17, 1904. During his brief administration, Watson endeavored, unsuccessfully, to bring in a labor arbitration law that would have included giving preference to employing members of labor unions (q.v.). He resigned as ALP leader in October 1907 due to ill health. He was succeeded by Andrew Fisher (q.v.). In 1916 he, like many other founding members of the ALP, supported conscription and was expelled from the party. Watson went on to have a business career and was one of the founders of the National Roads and Motorists' Association in New South Wales. (*See also* Australian Labor Party, Andrew Fisher)

WEALTH The inequality of the distribution of wealth under capitalism was a concern of socialists from the 1840s. Their solution, foreshadowed as early as 1848 in Marx and Engels' *Communist Manifesto,* was a heavy graduated income tax and the abolition of inheritance. Graduated income tax was a general objective in the programs of socialist parties by the 1890s. Ironically, a number of nonsocialist governments introduced graduated income taxes before 1914, although not to promote social equality, but to pay for rising military expenditures. Wealth itself was harder to tax than income because it was less easy to measure. Even so, Australia (1915) and Canada (1919) both tried to measure the distribution of wealth within their societies. In 1910 the

Australian Labor Party, which was then the federal government, brought in a land tax. In 1982 the French Socialist government introduced a wealth tax. (*See also* Inheritance, John Stuart Mill, Taxation)

WEBB, SIDNEY JAMES (1859-1947) Socialist author and intellectual, Sidney Webb was born in London into a lower middle-class family. He left school at sixteen and studied for legal qualifications part-time. He joined the Fabian Society in 1885. With G. B. Shaw and H. G. Wells (qq.v.), he was among its best-known members before 1912. Then a clerk with the Colonial Office, Webb devoted his legal training and remarkable memory to the cause of social justice though socialism. Socialism for Sidney Webb was an inevitable consequence of economic and social development. What he stressed was the importance of expert administration in the public interest. He had no interest in the dreams of utopian socialism and was opposed to syndicalism (qq.v.). Between 1905 and 1909 he served on the inquiry in the administration of the Poor Law. His unsuccessful minority report recommended that the social services provided by the boards of guardians (established in 1834) be given to the local government and that these services be expanded to include the unemployed. The extra cost would be paid for by more taxation (q.v.), a proposal that foreshadowed the welfare state (q.v.). Webb served on the London County Council between 1892 and 1910 and with his wife Beatrice, whom he married in 1892, formed an extraordinary intellectual partnership. Together they helped found the London School of Economics in 1895. Webb was an adviser to organized labor during World War I, and he greatly assisted the Miners' Federation of Great Britain before the Royal Commission on the Coal Mines in 1918. He drafted *Labour and the New Social Order* in 1918, which was the basis of British Labour Party policies up to 1950. He served three terms as a Labour member of parliament in the 1920s. (*See also* British Labour Party, Fabianism)

WELFARE STATE The term *welfare state* was coined in the Beveridge Report (q.v.) in the United Kingdom in 1942. But its essential idea—the provision of comprehensive government benefits to the general population to cope with illness, unemployment, poverty, and old age—dated back to at least as early as the eighteenth century; for example, Thomas Paine suggested

comprehensive welfare benefits to combat poverty in *The Rights of Man* (1791). Although the idea of the welfare state predated socialism, it was an idea that socialism made its own from the 1860s. In Germany Bismarck introduced a number of important welfare measures such as unemployment insurance that, together with the Antisocialist Law (q.v.), were specifically designed to undercut popular support for socialism.

By the 1890s the idea of the welfare state had become established in the programs of socialist/social democratic parties. The Erfurt Program (1891) of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) demanded free medical and legal services and burial. The 1893 program of the Belgian Workers' Party (q.v.) demanded that public charities be transformed into a general insurance system for all citizens to provide for unemployment, sickness, accident, old age, and benefits for widows and orphans.

Electoral wins by social democratic parties in Sweden (1932), New Zealand, and Denmark (1935) enabled their governments to lay the foundations for welfare states in these countries. In the United Kingdom (1945) and Australia (1946) convincing wins by their labor parties ensured that welfare states would be built there too. In other Western democracies the demand for welfare services was too great to be ignored by nonsocialist governments. Since the 1970s there has been increasing criticism of the cost of the welfare state because of the increased taxation it entails but also because of its alleged disincentive to actively seeking employment. (*See also* William Henry Beveridge, Friendly Societies, Michael Joseph Savage, Taxation)

WELLS, HERBERT GEORGE (1866-1946) Born in Bromley, England, H. G. Wells is best remembered as the father of modern scientific fiction, not as a socialist. Nevertheless, he did play a significant role in popularizing socialist ideas, particularly among the lower middle-class English with some education, that is, people like himself. He was a member of the Fabian Society up to 1909, but fell out with Sidney Webb (q.v.). Wells was too independent a figure and moved in too many ideological directions to be permanently identified with any single political philosophy. He popularized socialist ideas in *Anticipations* (1901), *Mankind in the Making* (1903), *A Modern Utopia* (1905), a Fabian tract called *The Misery of Boots* (1907), and most successfully in *New World for Old* (1908), the most influential work of its kind since Robert

Blatchford's *Merrie England.* (*See also* Literature, Utopian Socialism)

WHITLAM, EDWARD GOUGH (1916-) Australian Labor Party (ALP) prime minister from December 1972 to November 1975. Whitlam was born in Melbourne, Victoria, and graduated in arts and law from Sydney University. He entered federal politics in 1952 for a seat in south-western Sydney. Narrowly elected deputy leader of the parliamentary party in 1960, he was elected leader in 1967 after the ALP's massive defeat in the 1966 elections. He set about reforming the ALP organization and advocated policies designed to attract support from the younger voters and the middle class (q.v.) in the outer suburbs of the large cities. Whitlam gained a remarkable swing of 7 percent to the ALP in the 1969 election and led it to victory at the elections of December 1972. However, Labor did not win a majority in the Senate, where the non-Labor parties were able to frustrate the government's programs of reform.

Building on a number of initiatives of the previous conservative government, Whitlam undertook a wide-ranging series of reforms in foreign relations and domestic policy. The government upgraded the welfare state (q.v.), introduced universal health insurance, revised the divorce law, and devised programs to improve life in the cities, assist Aborigines, and improve the status of women (q.v.).

The Whitlam government faced two great problems: the inflation and recession caused by the 1973 oil crisis, and the hostility of the Liberal-Country coalition, which used its majority in the senate to force the government to hold a new election in May 1974. Despite the reelection of Whitlam's government, the Senate refused to pass the budget (October 1975). Unexpectedly, the governor-general, a Whitlam appointee, intervened. He dismissed Whitlam and installed the leader of the opposition as prime minister of a caretaker government (November 11, 1975). At the election of December 13, 1975, Whitlam and the ALP were defeated. Whitlam remained as leader until 1977, when he resigned after a second electoral defeat in December. In May 1983 the new ALP government of Bob Hawke (q.v.) appointed Whitlam as Australia's ambassador to UNESCO. (*See also* Australian Labor Party)

WHY IS THERE NO SOCIALISM IN THE UNITED STATES? This essay, originally published in 1906 under the title *Warum gibt es in den Vereinigten Staaten keinen Sozialismus?* was written by the

German academic economist Werner Sombart (1863-1941), who was then sympathetic to socialism. Sombart wrote the essay to offer his reasons why a mass socialist/social democratic party based on the working class had failed to emerge in the United States. He offered several reasons: the favorable attitude of American workers towards the capitalist system; the support of American workers for their system of government and their high level of civic integration through the suffrage (q.v.); the strength of the Democratic and Republican Parties, which made the establishment of a third major party very difficult; the affluence of American workers compared to the working class of Europe; the increased chance for upward social mobility in the United States compared to Europe; and the opportunities for an independent life on the land offered by the open frontier of settlement.

Sombart based his judgments on a visit to the United States in 1904 as well as published sources. His views have been criticized on various grounds. For example, his concentration on the "average" worker ignored the large section of the working class (q.v.) who lived well below the average. Nonetheless, Sombart's essay raised a significant question: why had socialism in the United States failed to attract a mass following as it had in Germany? The lack of a struggle for the suffrage and the relative affluence of the American worker were certainly important differences between the United States and Germany at that time, but they were far from being the only reasons why socialism failed to win mass support in the United States. Consider the counter-example of Australia, which had manhood suffrage from the mid-nineteenth century and a relatively affluent economy until the 1890s yet still managed to produce the Australian Labor Party (q.v.). Other reasons that have been advanced by G. D. H. Cole (q.v.) and others include an electoral system that favored two parties only; the lack of solidarity in the American working class, particularly the great divide between skilled and unskilled employees and divisions of nationality, race, and region; the hostility of the American Federation of Labor to socialism in any form; the failure of German immigrants (who made up a quarter of all immigrants to the United States between 1871 and 1891) to adapt their socialist ideas to American conditions; the agrarian/small town ethos of the United States (urbanization did not exceed 50 percent until 1920 in the United States); and the strength of Catholicism, which had been boosted by immigrants from Ireland before 1890

and then by immigration from Italy and Eastern Europe. (*See also* Socialist Party of America)

WIGFORSS, ERNST (1881-1977) Swedish political theorist, politician, and author, Wigforss played a central role in the creation of the ideologies and policies of the Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party (SSDWP). He was a member of the *Riksdag* (parliament) from 1919 to 1953, a member of the directorate of the SSDWP from 1920 to 1952, and a member of its executive committee from 1928 to 1952. In 1919 he largely drafted the Gothenburg Program, whose comprehensive social security schemes underpinned the policies and practices of the SSDWP after it won government in 1932. Although influenced by guild socialism and syndicalism (qq.v.), he recognized that the working class was getting better-off, not worse-off, and he argued for a gradual transition to socialism and for policies of ongoing social and economic reform to reduce the inequalities of capitalism. As minister for finance (1925-26, 1932-49), he was able to increase government spending to alleviate unemployment (q.v.), a policy he deduced from socialist theories, thereby anticipating Keynes' anticyclical theory by four years. (*See also* Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party)

WILSON, HAROLD (1916-1995) Born in the northern industrial town of Huddersfield, Wilson was British Labour Party prime minister from 1964 to 1970 and from 1974 to 1976. Raised in an nominally Anglican Non-Conformist environment, he was educated at Oxford. He entered the war cabinet secretariat in 1940 working for William Beveridge, the planner of Britain's post-1945 welfare state (qq.v.). He was elected to parliament in the 1945 landslide election for the Labour Party. Originally on the left of the party, Wilson moved progressively to the center during the 1950s. He became party leader after the death of Gaitskell in 1963.

In October 1964 the Labour Party won a narrow victory in the national elections, and Wilson began his first term as prime minister. His administration was characterized by a mixture of government economic planning that recognized the need for a strong private sector, and the expansion of the welfare state. In his view socialism could be best achieved by policies that promoted greater efficiency, technological innovation, and equality. Nevertheless, Wilson supported the cultivation of merit. An astute politician, he used conciliation rather than confrontation to deal with governmental

problems. Both his administrations faced serious economic problems, specifically a currency crisis in 1967 and high inflation in the mid-1970s. Wilson's achievements included the improvement of pensions and the establishment of the Open University program. (*See also* British Labour Party)

WOMEN Improving the lot of women in society was a theme of socialism from its very beginnings in the early nineteenth century. It built on a campaign that was begun by women like Mary Wollstonecraft in *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792) and by social theorists like the economist William Thompson (1775-1833), who argued the case for women's equality in his *Appeal of One Half of the Human Race, Women, against the Other Half, Men* in 1825.

Women played an insignificant role in socialism before the 1890s. An exception was Flora Tristan (q.v.) who advocated a proletarian international in her book *L'Union ouvrière* (The Workers' Union) in France in 1843. The socialist/social democratic parties put the betterment of women on the political agenda as a general issue, effectively for the first time. In 1883 August Bebel (q.v.) published *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (Women and Socialism), which championed women's emancipation and, through its large circulation, was important in making equal rights for women a priority in the political program of the socialist movement.

The Erfurt Program (1891) of the German Social Democratic Party (qq.v.) demanded universal, equal, and direct suffrage for men and women alike and the abolition of all laws that disadvantaged women compared to men. The 1893 program of the Belgian Workers'/Socialist Party (q.v.) also called for the revision of divorce laws and the maintenance of the husband's liability to support his wife and children.

Socialist/social democratic parties began to organize women from the 1900s. Legal difficulties in Germany prevented their being organized before 1908. *Die Gleichheit* (Equality), a journal begun in 1892 and edited by Clara Zetlin (q.v.), had 125,000 subscribers in 1914. By then about 16 percent of the membership of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) was made up of women. The Dutch Social Democratic Party/Labor Party (q.v.) began actively recruiting women by special clubs from 1905, and these had a total of 1,500 members by 1914. The Bulgarian Social Democratic Party (q.v.)—effectively a socialist movement made up of two parties—led the

demand for women's equality and voting rights before 1914. The Norwegian Labor Party (q.v.) organized a women's federation in 1901 that claimed 2,000 members by 1914. Not every socialist/social democratic party before 1914 welcomed women as members. The Danish Social Democratic Party (q.v.), although it resolved to organize women at its congress in 1908, effectively kept them out before 1914.

The British Labour Party (q.v.) established the Women's Labour League in 1906, which claimed 4,000 members by 1913, but otherwise was rather conservative in its attitude toward women compared to the Independent Labour Party (q.v.). The British Labour Party committed itself to a policy of full adult suffrage, that is votes for both sexes for persons aged 21 or over, in 1904. In 1907 the party's conference resolved by 605,000 to 268,000 votes to oppose equal suffrage for women on the grounds that it would restrict the vote to women with sufficient property to qualify. In 1913 the party's conference agreed by a 2 to 1 majority to oppose any proposed suffrage legislation that omitted women.

An International Women's Congress was formed by the Second International (q.v.) in 1907, and the first international socialist women's conference was held in Copenhagen. An antiwar international conference of socialist women was held in Berne in 1915. The International Socialist Women's Committee was formed as part of the Labor and Socialist International (qq.v.) in Germany in 1923. In 1928 the member parties of the Labor and Socialist International claimed a total of 973,900 women members of which the largest number were in the United Kingdom (300,000), Austria (225,200), Germany (181,500), Belgium (80,000), Czechoslovakia (44,500), Sweden (26,000), and Hungary (22,000).

As a proportion of members, the highest level of women's membership among those parties based on individual affiliation in 1928 was in the Austrian Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.)—32.9 per cent, a proportion that was maintained after World War II. The other social democratic parties with high levels of women members in 1928 were Denmark (33 percent), the Netherlands (29 per cent), Finland (27 percent), Czechoslovakia (24 percent) and Germany (21 percent). In July 1955 the Socialist International Women was formed in London as part of the Socialist International (qq.v.). (*See also* August Bebel, International Socialist Women's Committee, International Woman's Day, Socialist International Women, Suffrage, Clara Josephine Zetlin)

WOODCOCK, GEORGE (1912-1995) Anarchist scholar and author, Woodcock was born in Winnipeg, Canada. He was taken to Britain as a young child by his parents and he lived there until 1949. He came to anarchism though pacifism (qq.v.) in the 1930s and was a conscientious objector during World War II. On his return to Canada, he developed the literary career he had begun in London. In 1959 he founded the journal *Canadian Literature*. Although not a university graduate, Woodcock made a substantial contribution to the scholarly study of socialism. He wrote biographies of Peter Kropotkin (q.v.) in 1950 (with Ivan Avakumović) and Pierre-Joseph Proudhon (q.v.) in 1956. In 1962 he published a detailed general history, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements,* and edited an anthology of anarchist writings, *The Anarchist Reader,* which was published in 1972. In these works Woodcock demonstrated that anarchism was far from being the popular stereotype of mindless violence and destruction and that it was intimately connected with the quest for individual liberty in European thought and practice. In 1966 he wrote a study of George Orwell (q.v.), *The Crystal Spirit*, for which he won the Governor-General's Literary Award. After an academic career teaching English at the Universities of Washington and British Columbia, he left teaching in 1963. Later he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society of Canada. (*See also* Anarchism, Pacifism)

WORKING CLASS The word *class* as a label for social divisions entered the main European languages during the last half of the eighteenth century. The use of the term *working class* as applied to those who work in manual or industrial occupations for a wage, occurred by at léast 1795 in England. The plural form, *working classes*, was more commonly used before about 1870. As a plural term, it drew attention to the diversity of occupations and views among wage earners. Robert Owen (q.v.) used the expression "the poor and working classes" in 1813 to refer to what was later referred to as the working class.

As a singular term, *working class* was used in socialist literature not just to describe a social class but also to promote the idea of the unity of that class for its political, economic, and social improvement. The harsh working conditions and low wages of the working class made their improvement the driving imperative of socialist thought and policy. Nationalization (q.v.) of major industries was advocated as a way of ending the exploitation of their

employees, not of improving the economic management or efficiency of those industries. The working class were commonly extolled in socialist propaganda—with varying degrees of accuracy—as heroic victims of capitalist oppression or as repositories of moral and national virtues.

The socialist emphasis on the working class was especially apt before the 1930s, when manual occupations dominated the employed labor forces of Western economies. In Britain, for instance, no less than 75 percent of the labor force worked in manual jobs in 1911, a proportion that had only fallen to 70 percent by 1931. From the 1930s the proportion of those in working-class jobs began to fall slowly, and it became more important for socialist/social democratic parties to win over other groups in society if they were win political power. Again using the example of Britain, the proportion of those in manual jobs in the employed labor force had fallen to 59 percent by 1961. New technology and the general maturation of Western economies favored white-collar employment and offered the chance for upward social mobility for many in the working class. At the same time, the effects of upward social mobility, which depended upon access to training and education, should not be exaggerated: individual members of the working class might rise on the social scale, but the working class as a whole could not. Consequently, class has continued to be an important factor in voting for socialist/social democratic parties with those in manual jobs (the working class) still being proportionally far more likely to vote for these parties than other classes.

During the twentieth century, the working class contributed a declining proportion of the parliamentary representatives of socialist/social democratic parties. For example, between 1910 and 1913 and 1958 and 1961 the proportion of federal parliamentarians belonging to the Australian Labor Party (q.v.) who were of working-class origin fell from 59 to 39 percent. Among British Labour Party (q.v.) parliamentarians, the proportion of working-class origin fell from 72 percent between 1918 and 1932 to 30 percent by 1964. Similar declines have also been found among the membership of socialist/social democratic parties. (*See also* Membership of Socialist/Social Democratic Parties, Middle Class)

WORKINGMEN'S PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES (WPUS)
The WPUS was the first national socialist organization in the United States. It was founded in July 1876 from the merger of the Illinois

Labor Party (which had been formed in 1874 and had in turn developed out of the Universal German Workingmen's Association founded by followers of Ferdinand Lassalle (q.v.) in Chicago in 1869), the Social Democratic Workmen's Party of North America (a Marxist party formed in New York in 1874), and groups that had been part of the International Workingmen's Association (q.v.). One of its members was Laurence Grönlund (q.v.). Another member was Samuel Gompers (1850-1924), who later became the leader of organized labor in the United States and a strong antisocialist. The WPUS claimed 7,000 members and drew most of its support from German Americans employed in skilled working-class jobs. The formation of the WPUS took place at the start of a period of widespread labor agitation and unrest, but the party played only a limited role in directing this discontent, which was largely unorganized. The WPUS split in October 1877 and gave rise to the Socialist Labor Party (q.v.). (*See also* Socialist Labor Party)

WORLD LABOR ZIONIST MOVEMENT (WLZM) The WLZM was originally organized in the German city of Danzig (now Gdansk in Poland) in 1932. It brought together Zionist groups in Europe and the United States. After 1945 it was based in Israel and was known as the World Union of Zionist Socialist Parties. It stands for the promotion of a Jewish secular state, complete social, economic, and political equality, and the peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. It has been an affiliated organization with the Socialist International (q.v.) since 1951. In 1993 the WDZM had member organizations in 22 countries. (*See also* International Jewish Labor Bund, Zionism)

X

XYZ GROUP The XYZ Group consisted of left-wing British academic economists who operated during the 1930s. The were important in reshaping the policies of the British Labour Party. (*See also* British Labour Party)

Y

YOUNG PEOPLE'S SOCIALIST LEAGUE (YPSL) The YPSL was an American organization that began effectively on a national basis in 1915 under the auspices of the Socialist Party of America (SPA).

Membership was open to those aged between 15 and 30 and was claimed to be 10,000 by 1919. From 1920 the YPSL had a difficult history because of the decline of the SPA and the divisions in left-wing politics in the 1930s. In the early 1950s its leading figure was Michael Harrington (q.v.). In the 1960s the YPSL faced strong competition from the Students for a Democratic Society (formed in 1962) and was made moribund when Harrington left in 1972. The YPSL was formally wound up in 1977. (*See also* Socialist Party of America, Youth)

YOUTH No movement of any kind can survive it if neglects its youth. But it was not until the 1890s that socialism began to pay serious attention to recruiting youth. In the United Kingdom, the first socialist youth organization was the Clarion Scouts, established by Robert Blatchford (q.v.) in 1894. It claimed 120 clubs with 7,000 members by 1896. The members of the clubs used bicycles to spread socialist ideas. The British journal *The Young Socialist* was first issued in 1901 and continued into the 1960s.

In northern Europe, organizations especially for youth were set up during the 1900s. The Norwegian Labor Party (q.v.) formed its first socialist youth organization in 1900 in Oslo, and a national movement was formed in 1903. A socialist youth organization developed in Denmark between 1904 and 1907. But because of its affinities with syndicalism (q.v.), it was shunned by the Danish Social Democratic Party (q.v.). The German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) did not begin to organize youth until after 1908 because of legal difficulties. The Swedish Social Democratic Workers' Party (q.v.) established a Young Socialist League by 1903; members of this league founded a breakaway party, the Swedish Young Socialist Party, in 1908. A Socialist Youth International was formed in Germany in 1907, but failed to survive the turmoil of World War I.

The International of Socialist Youth was formed in Hamburg in 1923 with the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.). In 1928 parties affiliated with the Labor and Socialist International claimed youth organizations with a total membership of 260,000, of which the largest were in Germany (55,300), Sweden (41,200), Austria (31,000), Czechoslovakia (30,100), Belgium (24,600), Poland (16,200), the United Kingdom (12,000), and Denmark (11,300). After World War II, the International Union of Socialist Youth was formed in Paris in October 1946.

Social democratic youth organizations have also served as nurseries for aspiring politicians. Paul John Keating (q.v.) began his political career in the Youth Council of the Australian Labor Party (q.v.). Ingvar Gösta Carlsson (1934-), who was prime minister of Sweden from 1986 to 1991 and from 1994 to 1995, was president of the Swedish Social Democratic Youth League from 1961 to 1967. Karl August Fagerholm (1901-1984), who was prime minister of Finland from 1948 to 1950, joined the youth organization of the Finnish Social Democratic Party (q.v.) in 1920 and became editor of the organization's newspaper in 1923. But the most successful example of a socialist youth organization was that of the Danish Social Democratic Party (q.v.). No less than three prime ministers began their careers in its youth organization: Hans Christian Hedtoft-Hensen, Hans Christian Hansen, and Jens Otto Krag (qq.v.). (*See also* Education, International Union of Socialist Youth, Young People's Socialist League)

Z

ZETLIN, CLARA JOSEPHINE (1857-1933) A radical German socialist and schoolteacher, Clara Zetlin was born in Wiederau, Saxony and was a member of the German delegation to the Marxist congress of the Second International (q.v.) in Paris in 1889. In 1892 she became editor of the women's journal of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.), *Die Gleichheit* (Equality), a position she held until 1917. She opposed revisionism (q.v.) and supported the general strike as the prelude to social revolution. She was a leading campaigner of socialism for women and women's rights; she was one of the founders of the International Women's Socialist Congress, a secretariat of the Second International (q.v.) in 1907. As secretary of the Second International's International Council of Socialist and Labor Organizations, she organized an international conference of socialist women from France, Germany, the United Kingdom, and other countries in March 1915 to protest World War I. In 1919 she joined the German Communist Party, and in 1923 she went to Moscow and persuaded Lenin that the left-wing uprisings were abortive and should not be supported. (*See also* German Social Democratic Party, Women)

ZIMMERWALD CONFERENCE Initiated by Swiss and Italian socialists, this conference was held in secret in a peasant's house at Zimmerwald, Switzerland, in September 1915. It was attended by

official delegates from Bulgaria, Italy, Netherlands, Norway, Romania, Russia, Sweden, Switzerland, the International Jewish Labor Bund (q.v.), and unofficial delegates from Germany. There were no United Kingdom delegates because they were denied passports. Lenin attended for the Bolsheviks and the Mensheviks (q.v.). Left Social Revolutionaries were also represented, making 42 delegates in all. The conference denounced World War I, blaming it on reactionary capitalist governments, and called for (1) working-class unity to bring an end to the war, (2) a peace without annexations or indemnities, and (3) recognition of national rights of self-determination. The conference set up the International Socialist Commission, also known as the Zimmerwald Commission, made up of two Swiss, two Italians, and a Russian-born Italian resident, to work for an end to hostilities. (*See also* Kienthal Conference)

ZIONISM Zionism, was effectively begun by Theodor Herzl (1860-1904) in 1897 to create a state for Jews in what was then Palestine. It took its name from Zion, the part of Jerusalem named in the Old Testament, and combined the European idea of nationalism (q.v.) with elements taken from socialism. The socialist aspects of Zionism were expressed in the International Jewish Labor Bund (q.v.) and the *Poalei Zion* (Workers of Zion), which was formed in the Jewish pale of settlement in the Russian empire in 1900. By 1928 *Poalei Zion* claimed a membership of 22,500, of whom 6,000 lived in the United States, 4,000 in Palestine and 12,500 in Europe, and was a member of the Labor and Socialist International (q.v.). The growth of Jewish settlement in Palestine from the early 1900s was accompanied by the application of socialist principles, most notably in the idea of the kibbutz and the cooperative movement (q.v.). (*See also* Jews, *Kibbutz*, World Labor Zionist Movement)

APPENDIX 1

GLOSSARY OF TERMS

This glossary provides a guide to terms and concepts that occur commonly in the extensive literature on socialism, although they are not always clearly defined. It does not pretend to be comprehensive. Cross-references within the glossary are in **boldface** type.

Arbeitsgemeinschaften A German term meaning "working groups" but referring specifically to groups within the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) concerned with labor affairs and women. Originally set up in the 1980s, they became increasingly institutionalized in the early 1990s.

Autogestion A term used by the French radical socialists in the early 1970s to refer to the desirability of employee participation in the decision-making process at the workplace, but also encompassing a broad vision of socialism that is based on the widest possible popular participation in decision making at all levels of society.

Bennite A follower of Tony Benn (1925-), a prominent left-wing figure in the British Labour Party in the 1970s and 1980s.

Bourgeoisie The term *bourgeoisie* originally referred to the freemen of a French town. It seems to have been used from the twelfth century but did not become widespread until after 1700, when it became a general term for the middle class. During the nineteenth century, it was applied to the middle classes of other countries. Associated with property ownership and the exercise of political, economic, and social power, the term was used pejoratively by socialists, particularly Karl Marx, who depicted the bourgeoisie as the natural enemies of the **proletariat**. Ironically, many socialists came from the middle class, including Marx himself.

Capitalism *Capital*, meaning the accumulated wealth of an individual, company, or community, was used in English by 1611. Meaning the original funds of a trader, company, or corporation and so providing the basis for further operations, it was used in 1709 in legislation relating to the Bank of England. *Capitalists*, meaning moneyed men, was used by Arthur Young in 1792. In the sense of an economic

system in which the means of production, distribution, and exchange are dominated by private owners, *capitalism* was used by the novelist Thackeray 1854, but was more commonly used from the late 1870s.

Caucus A caucus means a meeting of the members of a parliamentary party. The origins of the term are unclear. One explanation is that it was taken from a Latin (originally Greek) word for drinking vessel and therefore suggests conviviality. It was in use in the North American colonies by the mid-eighteenth century to refer to private political meetings; a Caucus Club existed in Boston by 1763. It was in use in its present sense in the British press by 1878 and in its Australian colonies by 1880. The term has been applied specifically to meetings of the parliamentary members of the Australian Labor Party (q.v.) since 1894 in New South Wales and in the federal parliament since 1911. It is also used in Canada.

Centrism Also known as center-leftism, *centrism* is a French socialist term that referred to the composition of political alliances needed to form governments. A centrist alliance was one between a socialist party and parties more to the center of the political spectrum, whereas a united leftist alliance (such as the French Popular Front in 1936-39) was one between only left-wing parties, usually socialists and communists.

Class consciousness A Marxist concept, class consciousness refers to the idea that the individuals in a class, particularly the **working class**, have a broad, collective view of themselves as belonging to one group that transcends divisions caused by different occupations, race, residence, or religion.

Chattering classes Derisory term that came into vogue in the late 1980s to describe educated, articulate members of the middle and upper classes, often dependent for their living on government spending, who profess advanced political and social opinions. Often possessing extensive media contacts, they have been accused of exerting disproportionate influence on the policy-making processes of the British Labour Party and on the Australian Labor Party (qq.v.) to the detriment of the **working class**. In Australia these groups have been called the **new class**.

Cohabitation The name given to those periods in recent French political history when the president and the prime minister represented different political parties and were therefore forced to "cohabit." There have been three such periods: from March 1986 to June 1988, from March 1993 to May 1995, and from June 1997 to the present. In the first two period the socialist president François Mitterrand (q.v.) shared power with the conservative coalitions led by Jacques Chirac and then by Edouard Balladhur. Mitterrand was able to use his position to modify the policies of his conservative opponents. Since June 1997 the conservative president Jacques Chirac has been forced to share power with the socialist prime minister Lionel Robert Jospin (q.v.).

Corporatism Before the 1920s *corporatism* was used as a synonym for syndicalism (q.v.). During the 1920s Mussolini organized "corporations" of occupations as means of economic, political and social control. The term was revived in the 1970s to express close cooperation between government, business, and unions to implement economic policies requiring their consent, notably over wages and technological change. It has also been called neocorporatism.

Eisenachers Popular name given to the members of the Social Democratic Workers' Party (*Sozial Demokratische Arbeiterpartei*) formed at Eisenach in 1869. The party fused with the General Association of German Workers (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*) or **Lassalleans** to form the German Social Democratic Party in 1875.

Embourgoisement French term meaning "becoming middle class" and often used in a negative sense, *embourgoisement* refers to changes in the composition of working-class institutions or their political parties that see an increase in the proportion of members or supporters drawn from other social classes.

Entrism Euphemism derived from the word *entry* referring to the infiltration of social democratic parties by extreme left-wing groups. The term has been applied to Trotskyite groups in Britain in relation to the British Labour Party (q.v.) in the 1970s and 1980s.

Eurocommunism The term *eurocommunism* was coined in 1970 to describe attempts by the Communist Parties of France, Spain, and

Italy to reconcile communism with liberal democracy by emphasizing support for civil rights and recognizing the legitimacy of political opposition, that is, **pluralism**.

Fraktion Name given to the parliamentary group formed by the two socialist parties in Germany after the elections in 1874. At their formal unification at Gotha in 1875 they became the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.). The term was still being used at least up to 1918.

Grouper A term originally applied to a member of the "industrial groups" formed by the Australian Labor Party (q.v.) in 1947 to fight communist infiltration. After the Australian Labor Party split in 1955, it was applied to members of the conservative, anticommunist breakaway members who formed the Democratic Labor Party.

Guerristas With reference to the Spanish Socialist Workers Party (q.v.), *guerristas* were followers of Alfonson Guerra, who controlled the party machine during the 1980s. In March 1991 the *guerristas* were purged from the González government.

H-J Vogel Circle A middle-class group of professionals and academics within the German Social Democratic Party that emerged in the late 1960s and became allied with the ***Kanalarbeiten***.

Hegemony *Hegemony* is a term derived from a Greek word meaning leader or ruler. It was given wider usage in socialist writings by the Marxist theorist Antonio Gramsci in the mid-1920s to describe the way in which the **bourgeoisie**, as the dominant class, was able to organize the consent of the other social classes though political and economic institutions.

Juso This term, an abbreviation of *Jungsozialisten*, means *young socialist* and refers to members of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) who are aged under 35 years of age. The plural form is *Jusos*.

Kanalarbeiten German term meaning literally *canal workers*, but referring to the generally conservative trade union members of the parliamentary German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) from the 1950s who carried out mechanical political functions.

Laborism A form of socialism characterized by a close relationship with organized labor and commitment to gradual political reforms by democratic means. Laborism is most commonly used to refer to the policies and practices of governments of labor parties, particularly those that respond to the immediate demands of labor as sectional groups without challenging the fundamental economic relationships of capitalist society. Its usage dates from about 1961 in English, but it was used by the Marxist Antonio Gramsci in 1921.

Laborite A supporter or practioner of **laborism**.

Labor theory of value An economic and moral concept which Marx (q.v.) and others took from Ricardo. It holds that the value of a commodity is largely dependent upon the amount of labor it took to produce it, that is that labor is true source of value, and by implication, wealth (q.v.). The idea was used to justify the argument that labor should be paid more than simply a subsistence wage.

Lassalleans Followers of the the General Association of German Workers (*Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiterverein*) founded by Ferdinand Lassalle (q.v.) on May 23, 1863. In 1875 it merged with the ***Eisenachers*** to form the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.).

Leverkusen Circle A left-wing parliamentary faction within the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.) that began as the Group of the Sixteenth Floor in 1972.

Manualism Manualism refers to the idea that only manual workers—not the middle class or the intelligentsia—should represent manual workers in parliament or on other elected bodies. Manualism was recommended in the Manifesto of the Sixty (q.v.).

Maximalist A pre-1925 term applied to socialists, particularly in Italy and France, who desired the maximum, that is, the immediate attainment of socialism by violent revolution.

Mimimalist In contrast to **maximalist** socialists, mimimalist socialists were those who favored the attainment of socialism by gradual, peaceful means.

Municipal socialism A term used in Britain in the 1890s and into the early 1900s to describe the application of socialist ideas to local government administration. John Burns (1858-1943) was a leading exponent of municipal socialism in this period.

New Class Australian term for groups known as the **chattering classes** in Britain.

***Paulskirche* movement** A mass, extra-parliamentary movement organized by the German Social Democratic Party and the trade unions in December 1954 to protest the proposed membership of West Germany in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; the movement continued into 1955.

Pledge A written undertaking by parliamentary members of the Australian Labor Party (q.v.) to adhere to the platform of the party and to follow the decisions of **caucus**. It was in use in New South Wales by 1894.

Pluralism Pluralism refers to the acknowledgment and acceptance of political, ethnic, or cultural differences within nations or organizations. The term was first used in this sense in 1933 but has only become more common in political science since the mid-1960s.

Political economy Political economy was the original term for what is now simply called "economics." Since the 1970s it has been revived to refer to a radical approach to economics that explores its political aspects.

Proletariat/Proletarian The term *proletariat* was originally used to refer to the poorest citizens of ancient Rome. Since they owned no property, they were deemed to contribute nothing to society other than their children (*proles*). With the rise of classical studies in Western Europe, the word was revived to refer to the poorest members of society. The term *proletarian* (a member of the *proletariat*) was used in England at least by 1658. By 1853 the term *proletariat* was used to describe the to describe the poorest class, usually in a hostile or demeaning way. In the *Communist Manifesto* (1848) Marx used the terms *proletariat* and *proletarian* in a positive way to refer to the industrial **working class**.

Rainbow alliance A term sometimes applied to political alliances between socialist or social democratic parties and environmental or green political parties. It seems to have been derived from the term *rainbow coalition* used to describe political groupings of minority races and other groups as used in the United States in 1982.

Renovatores Spanish word for "renovators" but used in connection with the Spanish Socialist Workers' Party (q.v.) to mean those who wanted to end the domination of the party's machinery by the ***guerristas***.

Sarvodaya Hindi term meaning "uplift of all" and used in socialist debates in India in the 1950s to describe expected outcomes from comprehensive economic and social reforms outlined in the Indian Socialist Party's platform of July 4, 1951.

Social fascists A term of abuse used by communist parties in the 1930s in democratic countries to refer to noncommunist political parties on the left of the political spectrum, that is, social democratic parties.

Social wage A view of wages that embraces not only the earnings of employment but also payments from the social security system and other benefits such as health insurance.

Sozialdemokratische Wählerinitiative A post-1945 German term meaning "social democratic voter initiave." It began as an electoral campaign group of intellectuals and leading figures from the arts. It has become a forum for the left-wing intelligentsia within the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.).

Unilateralism Used with reference to the British Labour Party's policy adopted in 1960 of rejecting the use of nuclear weapons as the basis of a defense policy. The idea was that the United Kingdom would take this step on its own initiative without reference to other countries. The policy was repudiated in May 1989.

Wobblies Popular name for members of the Industrial Workers of the World (q.v.). The term also carries the suggestion that they could "wobble" or shake the economic and social order of **capitalism**.

Working class The term working class refers to those who work in manual or industrial occupations for a wage. Although it was used a singular term by at least 1795 in England, the plural form, working classes, was more commonly used before about 1870. As a plural term, it drew attention to the diversity of occupations and views among wage earners. As a singular term, working class was used not just to describe a social class but also to promote the idea of the unity of that class for its political, economic, and social improvement.

APPENDIX 2

CHRONOLOGY

1516 England: Sir Thomas More publishes *Utopia*, the first secular vision of an ideal society; originally written in Latin, it was first translated into English in 1551.

1576 England: First legislation requiring local government to provide the unemployed with work.

1634 Scotland: Seamen at Bo'ness form a friendly society.

1643 Scotland: Seamen at St. Andrews form a friendly society.

1647 England: Putney debates within Cromwell's army concerning the Levellers' efforts to secure a wider franchise; the sovereignty of parliament, and religious, civil, and economic rights (1647-48).

1649 England: The Diggers emerge; they were later hailed as forerunners of utopian socialism.

1699 England: Keelmen in Newcastle upon Tyne agree to form a friendly society to provide money for themselves and their families in the event of sickness, old age, or death.

1760 England: Six bakers deny under oath any responsibility for the burning down of a cooperative flour mill owned and operated by shipwrights employed at the government dockyard at Woolwich, London (March).

1765 Scotland: James Watt invents the condenser, the basis of an efficient new type of steam engine that he built in 1774 and perfected in 1775.

1769 Scotland: Some weavers at Fenwick form a cooperative society, the first such society formed in Britain.

1776 Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations*.

1777 England: Some tailors on strike set up a cooperative workshop in Birmingham.

1789 France: The Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen affirms the equality of men in their rights (August 26).

1791 Thomas Paine, *The Rights of Man* (part 1).

1793 William Goodwin, *The Inquiry Concerning Political Justice*.

1795 England: Some working class residents of Hull combine to raise money to build and operate a flour mill. With help from the town council, the mill was built in 1797 and operated as a producers' cooperative until 1895; David Davies, *The Case of Labourers in Husbandry Stated and Considered*; it contained information on the budgets of 127 agricultural laborers between 1787 and 1793.

1798 England: Thomas Malthus, *Essay on the Principle of Population*; this work was used to provide justification for pessimistic attitudes toward the possibility of improving the lot of the working class.

1813 United Kingdom: Robert Owen, *New View of Society*.

1817 United Kingdom: David Ricardo, *The Principles of Political Economy and Taxation*.

1821 France: Saint-Simon, *Du Système industriel* (The Industrial System).

1824 France: Saint-Simon, *Catéchisme des industriels* (Lecture on Industry).

1824 United Kingdom: William Thompson, *An Inquiry into the Principles of the Distribution of Wealth Most Conducive to Human Happiness*.

1829 France: Charles Fourier, *Le Nouveau Monde industriel* (The New Industrial World).

1834 England: The *Report of the Poor Law Commission* led to the first Poor Law Act.

1839 France: Publication in serial form of Louis Blanc's *Organisation du travail* (Organization of Labor), which was the forerunner of many of the ideas of democratic socialism.

1840 France: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *What Is Property?*

1842 England: Edwin Chadwick's report on the sanitary conditions of the laboring classes.

1842 France: Étienne Cabet, *Voyage en Icarie* (Voyage to Icaria), a work of utopian socialism.

1843 France: Flora Tristan (1803-1844) advocates a proletarian international in her book *L'Union ouvrière* (The Workers' Union).

1844 Prussia: Weavers' insurrection in Silesia.

1844 England: A consumer cooperative store is opened at Toad Lane, Rochdale, along principles that provided the model for successful British cooperative societies (December).

1845 Friedrich Engels, *The Condition of the Working Classes in England* published in Germany; it was not translated into English until 1885.

1847 United Kingdom: William Dixon and W. P. Roberts, two of the leaders of the Miners' Association of Great Britain and Ireland, become the first union officials to stand for election to parliament.

1848 Marx and Engels publish the *Manifesto of the Communist Party.*

1848 France: The government forcibly closes down national

workshops that had been set up to provide employment; several thousand killed and thousands of others were arrested during the "June Days."

1848 England: John Stuart Mill, *Principles of Political Economy*; this influential work offered a more optimistic view of the possibility for improving the condition of the working class; emergence of Christian socialism..

1849 Columbia: Socialist club formed.

1850 England: Publication of the platform of the National Reform League, which foreshadowed the development of evolutionary socialism.

1850 Chile: Francisco Bilbao (1823-1864), a survivor of the 1848 French revolution, founds the Society of Equality to promote cooperatives and friendly societies.

1850 France: Edmè Jean Leclaire (1801-1872) publishes a pamphlet that advocated profit sharing with employees.

1852 England: The Industrial and Provident Societies Act gives legal protection to the funds of cooperative societies; Herbert Spencer uses the term "evolution" in *The Development Hypothesis;* a congress of cooperative societies is held in London (July 26-27).

1853 Italy: Interregional conference of friendly societies.

1855 France: Frèdèric La Play, *Les ouvrieres européens* (The European Workers) makes the first international study of working-class incomes.

1859 England: Charles Darwin, *The Origin of Species by Natural Selection.*

1861 England: Henry Mayhew, *London Labour and the London Poor*; the publication of this work of four volumes was completed in 1862.

1863 France: Three followers of Proudhon stand unsuccessfully for election to parliament.

1863 German Workingmen's Association formed.

1864 France: *Manifesto of the Sixty.*

1863 England: Foundation of the Co-operative Wholesale Society at Manchester.

1864 United Kingdom: The International Workingmen's Association, or the First International, formed in London (September 28).

1865 France: Pierre-Joseph Proudhon, *De la Capacité Politique des Classes ouvrières* (On the Political Capacity of the Working Classes).

1866 Social Democratic Party of Germany formed.

1868 Bakunin establishes the *Alliance internationale de la démocratie sociale* (International Alliance of Democratic Socialism).

1868 Scotland: Scottish Co-operative Wholesale Society formed at Glasgow (August); it merges with the Co-operative Wholesale Society in 1973.

1869 England: A congress of cooperative societies is held in London and attended by representatives from several European countries.

1869 First volume of Karl Marx's *Das Kapital* published but the first English translation was not published until 1887. Volume 2 was published in 1885 and Volume 3 in 1894.

1870 Switzerland: A social democratic party based on German speakers is formed (March); it was short-lived.

1871 France: Paris Commune (March 18-May 28).

1871 Denmark: Socialist Party formed.

1872 After their expulsion from the International Workingmen's Association, anarchists form their own international at Saint-Imier, Switzerland.

1872 United Kingdom: The membership of friendly societies reaches 4 million; the secret ballot was introduced.

1873 Spain: Crushing of insurrections organized by the International Workingmen's Association.

1873 Switzerland: A political workers' club (*Arbeiterbund*) is formed; it helped to gain the first factory legislation in 1877 but was defunct after 1878.

1874 Austro-Hungarian empire: All-Austrian Social Democratic Party formed at Neudörfl (April).

1874 United States: A Labor Party is formed in Illinois and a Social Democratic Workmen's Party of North America is formed in New York.

1875 Germany: Social Democratic Party formed from the merger of the German Workingmen's Association and the Social Democratic Party of Germany at Gotha; the Gotha Program of the Social Democratic Party was released.

1875 Portugal: Socialist Party formed.

1876 United States: The International Workingmen's Association formally dissolves in Philadelphia.

1876 United States: Workingmen's Party of the United States formed in Philadelphia (July). The party was renamed the Socialist Labor Party in December 1877 in Newark, New Jersey.

1877 Belgium: Flemish Socialist Party formed; it became the Party of Belgian Workers in 1879.

1878 Denmark: Formation of the Social Democratic Party (February).

1878 Mexico: Bakunist League formed.

1878 Italy: Papal encyclical issued against anarchism and socialism.

1879 Argentina: Anarchist group formed.

1879 United States: Henry George, *Progress and Poverty,* had the unintended result of stimulating interest in socialism.

1879 Spain: Socialist Party formed in Madrid (May).

1880 Austro-Hungarian empire: The General Workers' Party of Hungary formed; it was reorganized as the Social Democratic Party of Hungary in 1890.

1880 Sweden: Social Democratic Party formed.

1880 France: Formation of the *Fédération des Ouvriers Socialistes de France* (Federation of Socialist Workers of France), France's first socialist party (June).

1881 England: Henry Hyndman and others formed the Democratic Federation (June), later renamed the Social Democratic Federation.

1882 France: A split in the Federation of Socialist Workers of France produces the Possibilists, a party advocating evolutionary socialism.

1883 Germany: August Bebel, *Women and Socialism,* advocated equal treatment of the sexes.

1883 United Kingdom: Formation of the Democratic Federation in London, which was renamed the Social Democratic Federation in 1884.

1884 England: Fabian Society formed in London (January).

1884 United States: Laurence Grönlund, *The Cooperative Commonwealth.*

1884 England: William Morris and his followers leave the Social Democratic Federation and form the Socialist League.

1884 Peru: Anarchists form a universal union open to all employees.

1885 Belgium: A united Socialist Workers' Party is formed.

1887 Chile: First socialist political party (the Democratic Party) is formed.

1887 Norway: Labor Party is founded (August).

1887 United Kingdom: Trades Union Congress forms the Labour Electoral Association.

1887 Austro-Hungarian empire: Czech Socialist Party is formed at Brno (December).

1888 Switzerland: Socialist Party is formed.

1888 United States: Edward Bellamy, *Looking Backward: 2000-1887.*

1888 United Kingdom: William Morris, *The Dream of John Ball.*

1889 Austro-Hungarian empire: The Austrian Social Democratic Party formed at Hainfeld (30 December 1888-1 January 1889).

1889 Germany: Old age pension law introduced (May).

1889 France: Second International Workingmen's Association, also known as the Second International, is formed in Paris (July); it was dissolved in 1914.

1889 United Kingdom: Publication of the *Fabian Essays*; edited by George Bernard Shaw, it becomes a bestseller.

1889 United Kingdom: London dock attracts widespread support

from organized labor in Britain, Australia and Germany strike (19 August -14 September).

1889 Sweden: Social Democratic Workers' Party formed.

1890 Germany: First international congress to consider ways of protecting employees held in Berlin (15-28 March).

1890 Switzerland: Social insurance introduced (June).

1890 Germany: Industrial courts set up to adjudicate in labor disputes (July).

1890 Armenia: Socialist Party formed.

1890 United Kingdom: William Morris, *News from Nowhere*.

1890 France: Split among Possibilist socialists over cooperation with bourgeoisie. The split produced the *Parti Ouvrier Socialiste Révolutionnaire*.

1890 Austro-Hungarian empire: Hungarian Social Democratic Party formed (December).

1891 France: "Massacre of Fourmies" occurs when troops fire on demonstrating employees and their families.

1891 Australia: Separate labor parties formed in the colonies of New South Wales, South Australia (January), and Victoria (June).

1891 Rome: Pope Leo XIII issues encyclical on the condition of the working classes.

1891 Germany: Social Democratic Party adopts the Erfurt Program (October 21); the program, based on Marxism, remains its official policy until 1921.

1892 Germany: The socialist feminist journal *Die Gleichheit* (Equality) begins publication.

1892 Italy: Formation of the Italian Socialist Party (August).

1892 Argentina: Socialist Party formed.

1892 United Kingdom: Socialist Sunday school movement begins.

1892 Russian empire: Polish Socialist Party formed.

1893 United Kingdom: Independent Labour Party formed at Bradford, England, by Keir Hardie; Robert Blatchford`s *Merrie England* published; reissued in a cheaper format in 1894, it becomes one of the best-selling works of socialism and does much to popularize socialist ideas.

1893 France: Auguste Vailland, an anarchist, explodes a bomb in the chamber of deputies.

1893 Romania: Social Democratic Party formed.

1893 Bulgaria: Socialist Party formed.

1894 Argentina: Socialist Party formed.

1894 Hungary: Socialist Party formed.

1894 Italy: Anarchist and socialist organizations outlawed (July 11).

1894 Netherlands: Socialist Party formed.

1895 United Kingdom: London School of Economics founded; International Co-operative Alliance formed in London by representatives from Belgium, Denmark, France, Netherlands, Hungary, Italy, Russia, Serbia, Australia, India, Argentina, and the United States.

1895 France: *Confédération Générale du Travail* (General Confederation of Labor) founded.

1896 Russian empire: Socialist Party formed in Lithuania.

1897 Russian empire: Jewish Labor Bund formed secretly at Vilna, Poland (October).

1898 Japan: Society for the Study of Socialism formed (November).

1898 Russian empire: Social Democratic Labor Party formed in Minsk (March); most of the delegates are arrested later.

1898 New Zealand: Old age pensions introduced.

1898 United States: Social Democracy Party of America formed.

1899 Australia: World's first Labor Party government formed in Queensland; it lasts one week (December).

1899 Russian empire: Socialist Party formed in Finland; it is renamed the Social Democratic Party in 1903.

1899 Germany: Eduard Bernstein's *The Preconditions of Socialism*, the first theoretical attempt to update Marxism.

1899 France: Alexandre Millerand, a leading socialist, becomes minister for commerce and industry in the cabinet of Waldeck-Rousseau (1899-1902). He uses his position to introduce many important labor reforms.

1899 Russian empire: Socialist Party formed in Georgia.

1900 United Kingdom: Labour Representation Committee formed (February 27); becomes the Labour Party in 1906.

1900 Russian empire: *Poalei Zion* (Workers of Zion) groups established by Jewish socialists.

1900 Belgium: Cooperative movement forms a wholesale society.

1901 Denmark: International labor union conference in Copenhagen (August 21); the conference sets up the International Secretariat of the National Trade Union Federations, which is officially renamed the International Federation of Trade Unions in 1919.

1901 United States: Socialist Party formed.

1902 Luxembourg: Socialist Workers' Party formed.

1901 Japan: Formation of the Japan Socialist Party (*Nihon Shakaito*).

1902 Russian empire: Lenin, *What Is to be Done?* sets out the role of the revolutionary party.

1903 United Kingdom: Split in the second conference of the Russian Social Democratic Labor Party in London (August) over the membership of the party; Lenin wins a narrow majority (20 to 24) and the party becomes divided between his followers (Bolsheviks) and the "minority" (Mensheviks).

1904 Australia: First national labor government formed with Protectionist support and headed by John C. Watson (April to August).

1904 France: Socialist newspaper *L'Humanité* founded.

1904 Russian empire: Socialist Party formed in Latvia.

1905 Russian empire: "Bloody Sunday" massacre in St. Petersburg (January).

1905 Netherlands: Amsterdam Conference of the Second International Workingmen's Association passes a resolution condemning socialists who participate in coalition governments.

1905 France: The United Socialist Party formed at the urging of the Second International (April).

1905 Norway: *Storting* (parliament) declares its independence from Sweden (June): Swedish socialists avert a possible war by threatening a general strike.

1905 United States: Industrial Workers of the World created in Chicago.

1905 United Kingdom: Socialist Party formed.

1905 Austro-Hungarian empire: 1 million people take part in mass marches in support of universal suffrage (November 28).

1906 France: *Confédération Générale du Travail* (General Confederation of Labor) adopts the radical Charter of Amiens, which advocates the general strike to eliminate capitalism and affirms the independence of labor unions from any political parties.

1906 United States: Upton Sinclair, *The Jungle*.

1906 Germany: Mannheim Agreement declares the equality of labor unions with the Social Democratic Party in providing leadership for the working-class movement; Werner Sombart, *Why Is There No Socialism in the United States?*

1907 Germany: Socialist Youth International formed.

1907 Belgium: International socialist women's congress set up as part of the Second International.

1908 France: Georges Sorel, *Réflexions sur la violence* (Reflections on Violence).

1908 United Kingdom: Old age pensions introduced; H. G. Wells, *New Worlds for Old*, regarded as one of the most influential works of socialist propaganda since Robert Blatchford's *Merrie England* (1893).

1909 South Africa: Labour Party formed (October).

1909 United Kingdom: Keir Hardie, *India*, attacks capitalist exploitation.

1909 Spain: "Tragic Week" (July) occurs when over 175 people are shot in riots led by revolutionary syndicalists in Catalonia over calling up of reservists for the war in Morocco. Attacks on churches and convents. Execution of anarchist leader Francisco Ferrer.

1909 Turkish empire: First *kibbutz* established in Palestine.

1909 United Kingdom: The House of Lords upholds the Osbourne Judgment declaring political levies by labor unions illegal (December 2).

1910 General Secretariat of Abstaining Socialists formed.

1910 Balkan Communist Federation formed.

1910 Denmark: First international socialist women's conference held in Copenhagen.

1910 Spain: Anarchists form the *Confederación Nacional del Trabajo.*

1910 Japan: Government arrests socialist leaders (May); secret executions are carried out in January 1911.

1910 Uruguay: Socialist Party formed.

1912 Chile: Socialist Party formed.

1912 Ireland: Labour Party formed.

1913 United Kingdom: Twelve countries are represented at an attempt to form a syndicalist international in London; sickness, unemployment, and maternity benefits introduced.

1913 First international socialist sports organization formed.

1915 Switzerland: International conference of socialist women is held in Berne to protest World War I (March); antiwar Zimmerwald Conference held (September).

1915 United States: Young People's Socialist League established as a national body.

1916 Finland: Social Democratic Party wins a parliamentary majority, the first time a labor/socialist party ever wins a majority in a legislature in Western Europe.

1916 Brazil: Socialist Party formed.

1916 New Zealand: Labour Party formed.

1916 Iceland: Labor Party formed.

1916 Switzerland: Revolutionary conference held at Kienthal (April).

1917 Germany: Independent Social Democratic Party formed (April); it rejoins the Social Democratic Party in 1922.

1917 Sweden: Social Democratic Workers' Party becomes a partner in government for the first time.

1917 Russia: Alexander Kerensky becomes prime minister of a provisional government (July 24); Bolshevik Revolution (November); the democratically elected Constituent Assembly dispersed by the Bolsheviks (January 18, 1918).

1918 Scandinavian Cooperative Wholesale Society formed.

1918 United Kingdom: Labour Party is reorganized and adopts a socialization objective that later becomes clause 4 of its constitution; Sidney Webb's *Labour and the Social Order* is adopted as the basis of party policy (June).

1918 Germany: Social Democratic Party assumes power after the collapse of the monarchy (November 9).

1919 Germany: Spartacist uprising crushed (January); Friedrich Ebert of the Social Democratic Party becomes president of the Weimar Republic (February 11); suppression by the federal government of the soviet republic in Bavaria (May).

1919 Switzerland: Berne conference of the Second International affirms that the reorganization of society along socialist lines has to be based on democracy and liberty (February).

1919 Soviet Union: Third International (Communist) formed (March); known as the Comintern, it is disbanded in 1943.

1919 Switzerland: Second International conference at Lucerne

declares that the communist Comintern tended toward dictatorship and rejects a merger between the two internationals (August).

1919 Australia: the Labor Party adopts a socialization objective that is strengthened in 1921 and 1927.

1919 International Labour Organisation formed.

1920 Workers' Educational International formed.

1920 France: Split in the Socialist Party results in the formation of the Communist Party.

1920 Malta: Labour Party formed.

1921 Switzerland: International Cooperative Women's Guild formed.

1921 International Union of Socialist Teetotallers formed.

1921 Austria: International Working Union of Socialist Parties formed at Vienna (February).

1921 Germany: Social Democratic Party adopts the Görlitz Program, which drops much of the Marxist analysis of the Erfurt Program of 1891.

1921 United Kingdom: R. H. Tawney, *The Acquisitive Society*.

1922 Switzerland: International Union of Religious Socialists formed.

1922 Germany: International of Revolutionary Syndicalists formed in Berlin (December).

1923 Germany: Labor and Socialist International formed in Hamburg (May). The International Socialist Women's Committee and the International of the Socialist Youth are formed at the same time.

1924 United Kingdom: First Labour government formed, led by Ramsay MacDonald (January-October).

1924 International Cooperative Wholesale Society formed.

1925 Germany: Social Democratic Party adopts the Heidelberg Program, which restores much of the Marxist analysis removed by the Görlitz Program in 1921.

1927 United States: Two anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolemeo Vanzetti, executed for murder and armed robbery in Massachusetts (August); the two are publicly exonerated for the crime in 1977.

1928 Germany: Social Democrats become the largest party in the *Reichstag* and form a government with Herman Müller as president (May).

1929 United Kingdom: Labour Party, led by Ramsay MacDonald, forms a government (January to November) with Liberal support.

1929 Australia: Labor Party forms a national government under James H. Scullin, the first since 1917.

1930 Germany: Disagreements over economic policy led to the fall of Herman Müller's social democrat government (March).

1931 International Federation of Socialist Physicians formed.

1931 Spain: First socialist-led government formed (June).

1931 United Kingdom: Labour government under Ramsay MacDonald collapses over disagreements over economic policy (August 24); MacDonald and other Labour parliamentarians enter into a coalition with the conservatives and are expelled from the Labour Party; R. H. Tawney, *Equality*.

1931 Australia: Split in the federal Labor government over economic policy (March). Some of the Labor parliamentarians join the

conservatives to form a coalition which wins the national elections in December.

1932 Canada: Founding of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation.

1932 Germany: Formation of an international organization of Zionist labor organizations at Danzig.

1932 Sweden: Election of the first majority social democratic government.

1932 United States: Norman Thomas, the presidential candidate of the Socialist Party, receives 884,781 votes.

1933 Palestine: Formation of *Mapai* (January), ancestor of the Israel Labor Party.

1933 Germany: Social Democratic Party is the only party to vote against the Enabling Act (March 23), which gives Hitler dictatorial powers until April 1, 1937. The Social Democratic Party is outlawed on May 10 and its leadership, as well as that of the trade unions is imprisoned in Dachau concentration camp.

1934 Austria: Violent suppression of socialists (February 11-15); the Social Democratic Party was dissolved and not reestablished until 1945.

1934 Tunisia: Democratic Constituent Assembly formed.

1934 India: Congress Socialist Party formed in Bombay (October).

1935 New Zealand: Labor Party is elected to government for the first time.

1935 Denmark: Social Democratic Party wins a majority in both houses of parliament, enabling it to introduce a range of progressive social and economic legislation.

1936 United Kingdom: J. M. Keynes, *General Theory of*

Employment, Interest, and Money. His ideas underpinned much social democratic economic policy in the post-1945 period.

1936 Venezuela: Democratic Action formed.

1936 United Kingdom: Left Book Club established.

1936 Spain: Beginning of the Civil War (July), which does not end until 1939 and results in the defeat of the socialist republican government by fascism.

1936 Mauritius: Formation of a labor party.

1936 United Kingdom: "Hunger" march by unemployed men from Jarrow, northern England, to London (October-November).

1936 United States: American Labor Party formed in New York state.

1937 Luxembourg: Socialist Workers' Party elected to government.

1937 Senegal: First francophone African socialist party formed.

1937 United Kingdom: George Orwell, *The Road to Wigan Pier*.

1938 United Kingdom: Introduction of paid holidays.

1939 Dominican Republic: Dominican Revolutionary Party formed.

1940 Belgium: Last executive meeting of the Labor and Socialist International held in Brussels (March).

1942 United Kingdom: Labour Party conference adopts a policy for a comprehensive social security system, a family allowance scheme, and a national health service (December); publication of the Beveridge Report which recommended the setting up of a comprehensive national system of social insurance and a national health service (December).

1944 United Kingdom: William Beveridge, *Full Employment in a Free Society*

1944 Italy: Communist Party reaffirms its commitment to parliamentary democracy.

1945 Austria: Socialist Party formed to replace the Social Democratic Party (April).

1945 France: World Federation of Trade Unions created in Paris (September 25); the former international trade union federation, the International Federation of Trade Unions, ceases to exist after December 31.

1945 United Kingdom: Labour Party wins its first national election in its own right with 47.8 per cent of votes and 393 members of the House of Commons (July 5).

1946 United Kingdom: Labour government enacts the National Insurance Act and the National Health Service Act; Ceylon granted its independence.

1946 Germany: Social Democratic Party in the Soviet zone of occupation is forced to merge with the communists (April 21) after the arrest of 20,000 of its members.

1946 United Kingdom: Socialist Information Office formed (May).

1946 France: International Union of Socialist Youth formed in Paris (October).

1947 United Kingdom: Labour government nationalizes the coal industry (January 1; it is privatized in 1992) and gives independence to India and Burma.

1947 France: Movement for the Socialist United States of Europe founded (February).

1947 United Kingdom: Committee of the Socialist International Conference formed (March).

1947 Poland: Cominform is formed (September); it is dissolved in April 1956.

1947 Socialist Movement for the United States of Europe formed.

1947 Italy: Socialist Party splits; the moderates leave and join the Christian Democrats.

1947 Netherlands: International Falcon Secretariat formed (October); it is reorganized as the International Falcon Movement–Socialist Educational International in 1970.

1947 United Kingdom: Labour government nationalizes the electricity supply industry and introduces a nationalized health service.

1948 Forcible mergers of social democratic parties with communist parties in Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania.

1948 Israel: United Workers' Party (*Mapam*) formed.

1949 United Kingdom: Socialist Union of Central and Eastern Europe formed in London.

1949 World Federation of Trade Unions splits: the noncommunist countries form their own federation, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (December); the World Federation of Trade Unions continues as a communist organization

1951 Germany: Socialist International formed at Frankfurt, Germany; it issues a declaration of the fundamental principles of democratic socialism (July).

1951 United Kingdom: Labour government nationalizes the railroads (January 1).

1951 France: Interantional Union of Socialist Democratic Teachers formed (July).

1951 Costa Rica: National Liberation Party formed.

1952 Vietnam: Socialist Party formed in secret (September).

1953 Burma: First Asian Socialist Conference held (January).

1953 Syria: *Ba'ath* Party (Arab Resurrectionist Socialist Party) formed from the merger of two parties to promote Arab unity, freedom, and socialism.

1953 International Federation of the Socialist and Democratic Press formed.

1954 Socialist Group in the European Parliament founded.

1955 Indonesia: Socialist Party defeated in national elections; the party is abolished by President Sukarno in 1960.

1955 Australia: Split in the Labor Party over communism keeps it out of power in the national parliament until December 1972.

1955 United Kingdom: Socialist International Women formed in London (July).

1956 United Kingdom: C. A. R Crosland publishes *The Future of Socialism,* which advocates that the Labour Party shift its emphasis from the nationalization of industry to its modernization. Its revisionist ideas were absorbed by the British Labour Party in practice, though not in theory.

1956 India: Second (and last) Asian Socialist Conference held (November).

1957 Bureau of Social Democratic Parties founded (January); it is officially reorganized as the Confederation of the Socialist Parties of the European Community in April 1974.

1958 Austria: Socialist Party removes Marxism from its program.

1958 Netherlands: the Labor Party removes Marxist references from its statement of principles.

1958 United Kingdom: *New Left Review* begins publication.

1959 Germany: Social Democratic Party adopts a non-Marxist program at its conference at Godesberg (November).

1960 United Kingdom: British Labour Party narrowly adopts a policy that rejects the use of nuclear weapons as the basis for national defense.

1961 Canada: New Democratic Party formed.

1966 Italy: Moderates rejoin the Socialist Party from they had split in 1947.

1968 Czechoslovakia: Alexander Dubček attempts to liberalize the communist administration.

1970 Northern Ireland: Socialist Democratic and Labour Party formed (August).

1970 New Zealand: Asia-Pacific Socialist Organization formed.

1971 Bolivia: Movement of the Revolutionary Left formed.

1972 France: Socialist Party adopts a program that omits overt references to Marxism.

1972 United States: Social Democrats USA formed.

1973 Portugal: Socialist Party of Portugal formed.

1974 Morocco: Socialist Union of Popular Forces formed (September).

1974 Greece: Pan-Hellenic Socialist Movement formed.

1975 Portugal: Socialist Party forms government for the first time (April).

1977 Spain: Spanish Socialist Party becomes legal (February 18) for the first time since 1939.

1977 Ecuador: Democratic Left formed.

1978 Belgium: Socialist Party splits into two parties based on French and Flemish speakers.

1978 Egypt: National Democratic Party formed.

1978 Guatemala: Democratic Socialist Party formed.

1979 United Kingdom: Labour Party is defeated by the Conservatives led by Margaret Thatcher (May).

1980 Spain: Socialist International establishes the Disarmament Advisory Council.

1980 Brazil: Democratic Labor Party formed (June).

1981 United Kingdom: Dissident Labour Party parliamentarians form the Social Democratic Party (March 26), which merges with the Liberal Party to form the Liberal Democrats in 1987-88.

1981 France: Election of socialist François Mitterand as president. The socialists also win a majority in the National Assembly (June 21).

1981 Tunisia: League of African Democratic Socialist Parties formed.

1982 Spain: First socialist-led government formed (December) since 1939; socialists lead Spanish governments until March 1996.

1982 France: Socialist government introduces a nationalization law that covers manufacturing, electricity production, banking, and insurance (June).

1982 United States: Democratic Socialists of America formed.

1983 Italy: First socialist-led government formed.

1985 Turkey: Social Democratic Populist Party formed.

1985 Fiji: Labour Party formed (July).

1986 Portugal: Socialist Party removes all references to Marxism from its program (June).

1987 Taiwan: Labor Party formed (November).

1988 Solomon Islands: Labour Party formed (November).

1989 Commission of Socialist Teachers of the European Community formed.

1989 New Zealand: Labour Party splits over privatization and the formation of the New Labour Party by dissidents (April).

1989 Lithuania: Social Democratic Party reestablished (August).

1989 East Germany: Illegal formation of a social democratic party (October).

1989 Latvia: A social democratic party is formed (December).

1989 Romania: A social democratic party is formed again (December).

1990 Czechoslovakia: A social democratic party is formed in Slovakia (February) and in the Czech lands (March).

1990 Mongolia: A social democratic party is formed (March).

1990 Estonia: A social democratic party is formed (September).

1991 Italy: Communist Party transforms itself into a noncommunist party, the Italian Democratic Party of the Left (February 3): it is admitted to full membership of the Socialist International in September 1992.

1991 Slovakia: The former Communist Party transforms itself into a social democratic party, but is not admitted to the Socialist International.

1993 Burkina Faso: The Party for Democracy and Progress formed.

1995 United Kingdom: Labour Party replaces its socialization objective adopted in 1918 with a commitment to a mixed economy of the public and private sectors (April 29).

1995 Portugal: Socialist Party regains government (October).

1996 Italy: The Olive Tree alliance led by the Democratic Party of the Left, the former Communist Party, wins the national elections (April 21).

1996 Czech Republic: The Social Democratic Party wins 26 percent of the vote compared to 7 percent in 1992.

1997 United Kingdom: Landslide electoral victory of the Labour Party (May 1).

1997 France: Socialist Party wins government after national elections (May 28 and June 1).

APPENDIX 3

STATISTICS

Movements are about followers as well as leaders, which implies a need for measurement of some kind, although it is surprising how many general works on socialism are devoid of statistical information. Accordingly, the statistics presented here chart aspects of the political and social history of the democratic socialist tradition. Gathered from scattered sources, they have not previously been brought together in this form. I have not included any tables on labor unions because I have already dealt extensively with their statistics in my *Historical Dictionary of Organized Labor* (Lanham, Maryland and London: Scarecrow Press, 1996), pp. 245-81. Similarly, I have not included any tables on cooperatives because their history will be the subject of another volume in this series. As some readers may wish to follow up the material summarized here, the sources of all the data have been specified in notes after the tables. Other sources of statistics are given in the bibliography.

Membership of political parties

International statistics regarding the membership of social democratic or socialist parties have not been considered a security concern (in contrast to the membership of communist parties) and only relatively recently have been of interest to political scientists. Other reasons for the scarcity of these statistics are secrecy by the parties themselves (as is the case with the Australian Labor Party) or simply a lack of appreciation of their importance. Some authors have avoided the problem altogether by reliance on election statistics.

For Western Europe, the most convenient single source of these statistics is William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977); for data on Western European democratic parties and the United States, there is a wealth of data from 1960 to 1989-90 in Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *Party Organizations: A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-1990* (London: Sage, 1990). There is a good general discussion of the topic by Stefano Bartolini, "The Membership of Mass Parties: The Social Democratic Experience, 1889-1978," in Hans Daalder and Peter Mair (eds.), *Western European Party Systems: Stability and Change* (Beverly Hills,

California: Sage, 1983), pp. 177-220. Otherwise, as with many other historical statistics, resort to primary resources (and even serendipity) is often necessary. With luck, the many gaps I have shown may incite others to fill them.

The composition of party membership

Assembling statistics on the composition of party membership is even harder than on total membership. Such data are generally comparatively recent and fragmentary, but they are extremely valuable for showing the change from a generally working-class membership to one increasingly middle class often at a rate well above what could be expected from occupational changes in the labor force. Where I have been able to locate pre-1945 data I have included them for their intrinsic interest.

Electoral support

Historical election statistics for social democratic or socialist parties have been gathered, along with those for other parties, by Thomas T. Mackie and Richard Rose and made readily available in *The International Almanac of Electoral History* (London: Macmillan, 3rd ed., 1991); more recent data have been taken from *Keesing's Record of World Events*. As the tables are intended to convey general trends only, differences in electoral systems have been ignored.

Information on the composition of those who vote for these parties are rare as time series and rely on public opinion polls, which can differ greatly in design, sample size, and reliability. I have given the main features of the ones I have been able to find in order to indicate trends, but the field is a complicated one and interested readers must follow up the sources I have given. For the United Kingdom, there is great deal of data in Ivor Crewe, Neil Day, and Anthony Fox, *The British Electorate, 1963-1992: A Compendium of Data from the British Election Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, rev. ed., 1995).

Structure of the Appendix

The statistics are organized into the following sections and are presented in chronological order:

A. International Socialism

1 Socialist Themes in British and American Utopian Literature, 1813-1985

1. SOCIALIST THEMES IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN UTOPIAN LITERATURE, 1813-1985

Period	Prosocialist/ sympathetic[a]	Antisocialist/ satirical[b]	Total number of works
1813-19	1	0	1
1820-29	0	2	2
1830-39	3	0	3
1840-49	4	0	4
1850-59	3	0	3
1860-69	0	1	1
1870-79	3	3	6
1880-89	12	11	23
1890-99	30	11	41
1900-09	30	6	36
1910-19	6	10(1)	16
1920-29	11	7(3)	18
1930-39	10	4(3)	14
1940-49	4	5(4)	9
1950-59	3	7(6)	10
1960-69	1	7(6)	8
1970-79	6	10 (6)	16
1980-85	3	3(2)	6
Total	130	87(35)	217

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

2. INTERNATIONAL OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS: MEMBERSHIP BY COUNTRY AND ORGANIZATION, 1922-1923

Country	Organization	Members (thousands)
Argentina	Federación Obrera Regional Argentina	200
France	Comité de Défense Sydicaliste RJvolutionnaire	100
	Paris building workers	30
Germany	Freie Arbeiter Sekretariat	120
Italy	Union Sindicale Italiana	500
Netherlands	National Arbeids Sekretariat	23
Portugal	Confederação General de Trabajo	150
Spain	Confederación Nacional de Trabajo	1,000
Sweden	Sveriges Abetares Central	30
Total[a]	9	2,150[b]

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

3. LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL: MEMBERSHIP BY COUNTRY, TYPE OF PARTY, WOMEN, AND YOUTH, 1928

Country	Membership (thousands)		
	Total	Women	Youth [a]
Membership based on collective affiliation [b]			
Belgium	598.0	80.0	24.6
British Guyana	1.1	-	-
Hungary	138.5	22.0	3.1
Iceland	4.9	0.9	0.2
United Kingdom [c]	3,388.3	300.0	12.0
Subtotal	4,130.8	402.9	39.9
Membership based on individual affiliation			
Western Europe			
Austria	683.8	225.2	31.0
Danzig [d]	5.4	1.0	0.5
Denmark	148.5	48.5	11.3
Finland	37.7	10.1	4.2
France	99.1	0.6	4.0
Germany	867.7	181.5	55.3
Greece	2.8	0.3	0.2
Luxembourg	1.2	0.1	0.4
Netherlands	52.9	15.4	6.7
Portugal	2.5	-	-
Spain	8.0	-	1.5
Sweden	203.3	26.0	41.2
Switzerland	36.1	1.6	0.6
Subtotal	2,149.0	510.3	156.9

3. Continued

Country	Membership (thousands)-		
	Total	Women	Youth[a]
	Membership based on individual affiliation		
Eastern Europe			
Bulgaria	30.1	1.5	1.6
Czechoslovakia	185.0	44.5	30.1
Estonia	4.5	0.8	0.5
Latvia	5.0	1.0	0.5
Lithuania	2.0	-	0.4
Poland	63.4	12.1	16.2
Romania	13.0	-	0.3
Yugoslavia	4.0	0.3	1.5
Subtotal	307.0	60.2	51.1
	Other member organizations		
Argentina	10.0	-	2.5
China	3.5	-	-
Palestine[e]	4.0	0.5	-
United States	15.0	-	1.0
Subtotal	32.5	0.5	3.5
TOTAL	6,637.8[f]	973.9	260.5

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

4. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL: FULL MEMBER COUNTRIES BY REGION, 1951-1996

Region	1951	1961	1969	1980	1996
Africa	0	0	2	2	6
Asia	2	2	4	4	3
Middle East	1	1	1	3	4
Eastern and Southern Europe	1	0	0	0	9
Western Europe	19	15	15	23	22
North America	3	3	3	3	3
Caribbean and Latin America	2	2	2	10	20
Oceania	0	1	2	2	2
Total [a]	28	24	29	47	69

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

5. BRITISH LABOUR PARTY: MEMBERSHIP BY TYPE, 1901-1992

Year	Labor Unions	Individuals[a]	Cooperative	Total
		Membership in thousands		
1901	353	-	23	376
1906	904	-	17	921
1911	1,502	-	31	1,533
1921	3,974	-	37	4,011
1926	3,352	-	36	3,388
1928	2,025	215	52	2,292
1931	2,024	297	37	2,358
1936	1,969	431	45	2,445
1941	2,231	227	28	2,486
1946	2,635	645	42	3,322
1951	4,937	876	35	5,848
1956	5,658	845	34	6,537
1961	5,550	751	25	6,326
1966	5,539	776	21	6,336
1971	5,559	700	25	6,284
1976	5,800	659	48	6,507
1981	6,273	277	58	6,608
1986	5,778	297	58	6,133
1991	4,811	261	54	5,126
1992	4,634	280	51	4,965

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

6. SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES: MEMBERSHIP, 1903-1931

Year	Dues-paying membership
1903	15,975
1905	23,327
1910	58,011
1912	118,045
1913	95,957
1915	79,374
1918	82,344
1919	108,504
1920	26,766
1931	13,484

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

7. MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1890-1920

Country/date of founding	**1890**	**1900**	**1913**	**1920**
		Individual membership (thousands)		
Western Europe				
Austria (1889)	15	90 [1905]	110	336
Denmark (1878)	14	30 [1901]	49	127
Finland (1899)	-	16 [1904]	53	-
France (1905)	-	35 [1905]	75	180
Germany (1875)	-	400 [1905]	983	1,180
Italy (1892)	-	-	58	216
Netherlands (1894)	1 [1895]	3	26	48
Norway (1887)	-	17 [1903]	54 [1914]	46 [1921]
Sweden (1889)	7	44	75	143
Switzerland (1888)	-	9	30	51
Spain (1879)	-	9 [1903]	-	-
Portugal (1875)	-	-	-	3 [1923]

7. Continued

Country/date of founding	1890	1900	1913	1920
	Individual membership (thousands)			
Eastern Europe Bulgaria (1892)	-	2	6 [1912]	-
Czechoslovakia (1896)	-	49	150	-
Estonia (1925)	-	-	-	4 [1925]
Hungary (1890)	-	-	53 [1912]	-
Lithuania (1896)	-	-	-	2 [1925]
Romania (1893)	-	6 [1897]	-	-
Ukraine (1905)	-	-	-	35 [1919]
Yugoslavia (1921)	-	-	-	4 [1921]
Other Argentina (1894)	-	-	5 [1914]	-
United States (Socialist Party) (1901)	-	16 [1903]	96	27

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

8. MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1930-1970

Country	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Individual membership where available (thousands)					
Austria	698	-	607	727	719
Belgium	-	-	-	199	225
Denmark	171	189	284	259	178
Finland	-	-	-	43	61
France	126	275 [1938]	140	100	71
Germany	1,037	-	685	650	820
Italy	-	-	400 [1949]	609	507
Luxembourg	1	-	-	-	-
Netherlands	61	-	106	143	99
Norway	80	171 [1938]	203	165	155
Sweden	277	487	722	730	836
Switzerland	47	34	54	-	-
United Kingdom	277	304	908	790	680
Yugoslavia	4 [1927]	-	-	-	-

8. Continued

Country	1930	1940	1950	1960	1970
Individual membership where available (thousands)					
Argentina	12 [1931]	-	-	-	-
Australia	-	390 [1939]	65 [1954]	50	90 [1975]
China [Social-Democratic Party]	16 [1931]	-	-	-	-
Palestine	6 [1931]				
United States (Socialist Party)	13 [1931]				

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

9. MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1980-EARLY1990s

Country	1980	1985	1990	1992
	Individual membership(thousands)			
Australia	-	75 [1983]	-	35 [1995]
Austria	720	686	597	-
Belgium [b]	269	249	257 [1988]	-
Canada	175 [1982]	-	-	-
Denmark	109	103	98 [1989]	-
Finland	101	92	85 [1989]	-
France	170 [1979]	250 [1982]	-	-
Germany	987	916	919	928 [1991]
Italy	619	749	751 [1988]	-
Japan	105 [c]	-	-	-
Netherlands	113	102	88 [1991]	73
New Zealand	80 [1982]	-	-	-
Norway	104	125	98	-
Spain	107 [1981]	-	260	-
Sweden	1,160	1,161 [a]	978 [1989]	260
United Kingdom	348	313	311	280

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

10. NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP, 1887-1939

Occupational group [a]	1887-1903	1904-17	1918-26	1927-39
Estimated averages for period (percentage)				
Politicians	0	9	4	15
Senior official employees	0	1	6	4
Lower official employees	2	9	4	4
Journalists/editors	6	24	19	8
Liberal professions/senior private sector employees	34	10	4	2
Lower private sector employees	0	3	4	8
Farmers, fishermen	1	3	9	5
Industrial workers	11	4	6	7
Crafts	24	9	8	3
Manual non-industry workers	11	4	6	38
Employees of party or trade union	12	25	28	3
Housewives	0	1	2	4
Sample population	140	106	191	184
Total membership (thousands)	16.5 [1905]	63.0 [1915]	40.3 [1923]	170.9 [1938]

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

11. NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP, 1945-1971

Occupational group [a]	1945-49	1950-59	1960-65	1966-71
Estimated averages for period (percentage)				
Politicians	23	21	22	12
Higher official employees	11	19	17	19
Lower official employees	2	2	5	9
Journalists/editors	8	13	9	3
Liberal professions/high private sector employees	5	3	2	4
Lower private sector employees	6	2	0	2
Farmers, fishermen	4	2	3	0
Industrial workers	2	1	2	2
Crafts	0	0	0	1
Manual non-industry workers	0	0	1	44
Employees of party or trade union	35	38	35	2
Housewives	3	1	5	2
Sample population	97	167	130	129
Total membership (thousands)	204.1 [1949]	165.1	150.3 [1965]	155.3

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

12. DUTCH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP TO 1909

Occupational group	Males	Females	Total
Industrialists/private income	32	0	32
Intellectual professions	260	12	272
Teachers	437	63	500
Lower middle class/merchants	608	3	611
Farmers/fishermen	112	2	114
Civil/public servants	408	2	410
Employees in services	200	8	208
Artisans/craftsmen	1,321	1	1,322
Skilled workers	1,035	4	1,039
Unskilled workers	1,703	64	1,767
Agricultural employees	335	7	342
Total	6,451	166	6,617 [a]

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

13. INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1935

Year	Total membership
1897	6,900 [a]
1900	4,600 [a]
1901	13,000
1909	22,000
1914	16,000
1918	35,000
1922	25,000-30,000
1926	55,000-60,000
1932	16,800
1935	4,400

Lancashire Division, 1914 and 1919

	Women members	Percentage of total members
1914	1,333	18.7
1919	2,671	30.1

Regional distribution, 1927 (percentage) [a]

Scotland	23.7
Lancashire	19.3
London	15.7
Yorkshire	13.9
Midlands	11.7
Wales and Monmouth	4.7
Other	11.1

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

14. BULGARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTIES : SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1909

Feature	"Narrow Socialists"	"Broad Socialists"
Total membership	1,870	2,427
Percentage of total membership		
Males	98.8	96.5
Females	1.2	3.5
Unmarried	75.3	53.8
Married	24.6	46.2
Ages under 30	80.7	45.9 [a]
Ages over 30	19.3	54.1 [b]
Completed secondary or higher education	14.6	30.8
Independent owners	14.4	17.5 [c]
Employees	-	9.0 [c]
Employed in craft trades	50.6	26.4 [c]
Employed in industry	14.4	3.7 [c]
Employed in trade	nil	6.6 [c]
Employed in agriculture	0.7	0.6 [c]
Students, teachers or liberal professions	19.8	36.1 [c]

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

15. AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES, 1929, 1951, AND 1972

Feature	1929	1951	1972
Total membership (thousands)	718.1	621.1	696.4
Percentage of total membership			
Males	67.1	65.4	66.1
Females	32.9	34.6	33.9
Living in Vienna	58.2	43.2	37.2
Industrial workers	51.2	39.7	37.3
Agricultural and forestry workers	0	2.5	1.0
Farmers	0	1.0	0.7
Public sector employees	8.6	13.6	13.8
Professions	1.5	1.5	1.1
Self-employed	4.3	2.8	2.1
Pensioners	2.2	11.4	16.4
Housewives	16.1	17.3	12.2
Students	0	-	0.6
Other and unknown occupations	1.6	10.2	1.4

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

16. GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES, 1930, 1975, AND 1991

Feature	**1930**	**1973**	**1991**
Total membership (thousands)	1,037.4	955.7	926.3
Percentage of membership			
Aged under 30	17.2	18.8	10.2
Aged over 30	82.8	82.2	89.9
Self-employed	0.4	4.8	4.0
Officials (private sector)	0.9	21.9	26.6
Officials (public sector)	0.3	9.0	10.6
Farmers	0	0.4	0.2
Housewives	-	9.9	11.8
Pensioners	-	13.4	9.0
Students	0.1 [a]	5.7	6.6
Manual/blue collar employees	77.6	26.4	25.5
Other and unspecified	20.7	8.5	5.7

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

17. FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1951, 1970, AND 1973

Feature	1951	1970	1973
Total membership (thousands)	126.9	71	108
Percentage of total membership			
Business, managerial, and professional	3	15	20
Farming, shop-keeping, lower managerial, and clerical	53	61	61
Manual/blue-collar workers	44	23	19

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

18. ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1973

Feature	**1973**
Total membership (thousands)	463.0
Occupation-	Percentage of total membership
Professional/managerial	1.5
White collar/teachers	12.6
Shopkeepers/artisans	8.7
Small farmers/sharecroppers	7.1
Manual/blue-collar workers	32.1
Apprentices/students	1.5
Pensioners	8.3
Housewives	10.0
Others and unspecified	8.3
Region	
North	43
Center	19
South	38

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

19. AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY IN NEW SOUTH WALES: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1961 AND 1981

Feature [a]	**1961**	**1981**
Percentage of total members		
Managers and administrators	5	6
Professional and para-professionals	9	24
Clerical and personal services	9	9
Tradespersons	23	10
Plant and machine operators and laborers	23	11
Students	1	4
Retired	9	20
Unemployed	0	2
Unpaid domestic workers	21	14
Men	74	69
Women	26	31
Non-Anglo-Celtic surnames	7	14

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

20. AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY IN VICTORIA: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1961 AND 1986

Feature [a]	1961	1986
	Percentage of total members	
Managers and administrators	9	5
Professional and paraprofessionals	10	28
Clerical and personal services	8	9
Tradespersons	21	6
Plant and machine operators and laborers	24	7
Students	1	8
Retired	10	16
Unemployed	0	7
Unpaid domestic workers	17	14
Men	80	60
Women	20	40
Non-Anglo-Celtic surnames	10	22

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

21. VOTING FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1891-1920

Country	1891	1895	1900	1913	1920
	Percentage of total formal vote in lower house				
Austria	-	-	-	-	36
Belgium	-	13	23	30	37
Denmark	-	-	19	30	29
France	-	8	10	17	21
Finland	-	-	-	43	38
Germany	29	23	27	35	22
Ireland	-	-	-	-	21
Italy	-	7	13	18	32
Netherlands	1	3	10	19	19
Norway	-	1	3	26	21
Sweden	-	-	4	30	30
Switzerland	-	7	19	10	24
United Kingdom	-	1	1	6	30
Australia	38	27	25	48	42
New Zealand	-	-	3	9	24

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

22. VOTING FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1930-1970

Country	1930	1945	1950	1960	1970
Percentage of total formal vote in lower house					
Austria	41	45	39	45	48
Belgium	36	32	35	37	27
Denmark	42	33	40	42	37
France	21	24	15	13	17
Finland	34	25	27	20	23
Germany	25	-	29	36	43
Ireland	8	12	11	12	17
Italy	-	21	7	20	15
Netherlands	24	28	29	30	25
Norway	31	41	46	47	47
Sweden	42	47	46	48	45
Switzerland	29	26	26	26	23
United Kingdom	29	48	46	44	43
Australia	38	50	47	48	47
New Zealand	34	51	47	43	44

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

23. VOTING FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1980-1995

Country	1980	1985	1990	1995 [a]
Percentage of total formal vote in lower house				
Austria	51	43	43	38
Belgium [b]	25	31	25	25
Denmark	38	32	37	35
France	37	31	37	39
Finland	24	27	22	28
Germany	43	38	34	32
Ireland	10	6	10	10
Italy [b]	14	16	17	35
Netherlands	31	35	35	24
Norway	37	41	34	37
Spain	31	44	40	37
Portugal	26	23	30	44
Sweden	43	45	38	45
Switzerland	24	18	19	22
United Kingdom	37	31	34	45
Australia	45	48	39	39
New Zealand	39	48	35	28
Canada	20	19	20	11

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

24. ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY BY NONMANUAL AND MANUAL OCCUPATIONS, 1943-1993

Year	Nonmanual	Manual
	Percentage of relevant group	
1943	31	68
1946	34	67
1949	29	68
1955	27	61
1961	34	65
1966	25	51
1972	41	62
1975	33	51
1980	39	59
1984	46	60
1990	38	54
1993	39	57

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

25. ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY BY NONMANUAL AND MANUAL OCCUPATIONS, 1945-1992

Year	Nonmanual	Manual
	Percentage of relevant group	
1945	28	62
1950	23	59
1955	23	62
1959	21	57
1966	26	69
1970	25	58
1974	25	57
1979	23	50
1983	17	42
1987	17	50
1992	19	47

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

26. SELECTED FEATURES OF VOTERS FOR THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY: 1956, 1964, AND 1973

Occupational group	**1956**	**1964**	**1973**
Percentage of occupational group			
Employers, managers, and professionals	4	8	16
Small business owners	21	26	21
Clerical	37	46	37
Shop assistants and service employees	72	64	61
Blue-collar employees	77	78	69
Farmers	14	7	9
Agricultural employees	58	53	64

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

27. SELECTED FEATURES OF VOTERS FOR THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY: 1967 AND 1978

Feature	1967	1978
	Percentage of voters	
Men	53	51
Women	47	49
Aged 21-34 years	30	43
Aged 35-49 years	27	25
Aged 50-64 years	27	18
Aged 65 and over	16	13
Farmers	14	5
Professional and managerial	14	12
White-collar	18	29
Manual/blue-collar	33	34
Retired/ no occupation	21	20
Rural	33	25
Urban (under 20,000)	12	15
Urban (20,000-100,000)	17	14
Urban (over 100,000)	22	29
Paris	16	17

Notes and sources can be found at the end of the appendix.

NOTES AND SOURCES FOR TABLES

1. SOCIALIST THEMES IN BRITISH AND AMERICAN UTOPIAN LITERATURE, 1813-1985

[a] Includes anarchism, Christian socialism, and works concerned with cooperatives or communes.
[b] The number in brackets refers to works that are anticommunist or anti-Soviet.

SOURCE: Lyman T. Sargent (ed.), *British and American Utopian Literature, 1516-1985: An Annotated Chronological Bibliography* (New York and London: Garland, 1988), *passim.*

2. INTERNATIONAL OF REVOLUTIONARY SYNDICALISTS: MEMBERSHIP BY COUNTRY AND ORGANIZATION, 1922-23

[a] The official title of this body was the International Workingmen's Association.
[b] Excludes Chile, Denmark, Norway, and Mexico.

SOURCE: George Woodcock, *Anarchism: A History of Libertarian Ideas and Movements* (Harmondsworth, England: Penguin, 1963), pp. 253-54, 414.

3. LABOR AND SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL: MEMBERSHIP BY COUNTRY, TYPE OF PARTY, WOMEN AND YOUTH, 1928

[a] Youth were not included in total membership.
[b] Mainly trade unions and cooperatives.
[c] There were 215,000 individual British Labour Party members in 1928.
[d] Danzig was a German city in 1928; it is now Gdansk, Poland.
[e] *Poalei Zion* (Workers of Zion).
[f] There were 6,000 members of *Poalei Zion* (Workers of Zion) in the United States and 12,500 members in Europe that are not included in the subtotals but are included in this total.

SOURCE: *Troisième Congrès de L'Internationale Ouvrière Socialiste* (Zurich: L'Internationale Ouvrière Socialiste, 1928), Annex to Part 4, unpaginated. Because of rounding, these data differ slightly from the totals given in this source.

4. SOCIALIST INTERNATIONAL: MEMBERSHIP BY REGION, 1951-1996

[a] Excludes political parties that were banned, exiled, or had only consultative or observer status, and two international bodies: the International Jewish Labor Bund and the World Labor Zionist Movement (both affiliated from 1951).

SOURCES: Socialist International, *The Socialist International: A Short History* (London: Socialist International, 1969), p. 24; Alan J. Day and Henry W. Degenhardt (eds.), *Political Parties of the World* (London: Longman, 1980), pp. 391-92; Socialist International Internet home page on January 16, 1996: *http://ccme-mac4.bsd.uchicago.edu/DSASI.html.*

5. BRITISH LABOUR PARTY: MEMBERSHIP BY TYPE, 1900-1992

Note: The data on individual membership presented here are those officially published, but for the period 1957 to 1979 they are generally considered to exaggerate the true level. Independent studies conducted between 1970 and 1978 suggest that official statistics are about double what they should be.

SOURCE: David Butler and Gareth Butler (eds.), *British Political Facts, 1900-1994* (London and Basingstoke: Macmillan, 1994), pp. 146-47.

6. THE SOCIALIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES: MEMBERSHIP, 1903-1931

SOURCE: Harry W. Laidler, *Social-Economic Movements: An Historical and Comparative Survey of Socialism, Communism, Co-operation, Utopianism; and Other Systems of Reform and Reconstruction* (New York: Thomas Crowell Company, 1944), pp. 588, 591, 593.

7. MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1890-1920

SOURCES: John Price, *The International Labour Movement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1945), pp. 30-45; William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western*

Europe (London: Croom Helm, 1977); Harry W. Laidler, *History of Socialism: An Historical and Comparative Survey of Socialism, Communism, Co-operation, Utopianism; and Other Systems of Reform and Reconstruction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968); Alexander De Grand, *The Italian Left in the Twentieth Century: A History of the Socialist and Communist Parties* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1989), p.35; Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), 2 vols., p. 234 (Spain), p. 301 (Austria), p. 338 (Czechoslovakia), p. 361 (Hungary), pp. 408-9 (for Bulgaria, the statistics are a total for the "narrow" and "broad" Social Democratic Labor parties) pp. 525, 535 (Finland), p. 668 (Argentina); William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 324 (Sweden).

8. MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1930-1970

SOURCES: William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 60 (France), 433-34; Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *Party Organizations: A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-1990* (London: Sage, 1990), pp. 40-41 (Austria), p. 131 (Belgium), p. 215 (Denmark), p. 286 (Finland), p. 332 (Germany), p. 481 (Italy), pp. 636-37 (Netherlands), p. 792 (Sweden), p. 744 (Norway); David S. Bell and Byron Criddle, *The French Socialist Party: Resurgence and Victory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 198; Alexander De Grand, *The Italian Left in the Twentieth Century: A History of the Socialist and Communist Parties* (Bloomington and Indianapolis, Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1989), p. 121; *Australian* (Sydney), October 8-9, 1994, p. 11.

9. MEMBERSHIP OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1980-EARLY1990s

[a] 1987 figure; this includes collective affiliates that were phased out as a membership category between 1988 and 1990.
[b] Refers to the total of Flemish and francophone socialist parties that were one party up to 1978.
[c] Refers to the total of two parties.

SOURCES: William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 60 (France), p. 84 (Italy); David S. Bell and Eric Shaw (eds.), *Conflict and Cohesion in the Western European Social Democratic Parties* (London: Pinter Publishers, 1994), p. 68 (Spain), p. 91 (Sweden), p. 107 (Norway), p. 145 (Netherlands); *Australian* (Sydney), 8-9 October 1994, p. 11; Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *Party Organizations: A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-1990* (London: Sage, 1990), p. 41 (Austria), p. 131 (Belgium), p. 215 (Denmark), p. 286 (Finland), p. 332 (Germany), p. 481 (Italy), pp. 636-7 (Netherlands), p. 792 (Sweden), p. 744 (Norway); Gerard Braunthal, *The German Social Democrats since 1969: A Party in Power and Opposition* (Boulder, San Francisco and Oxford: Westview Press, 2nd ed., 1994), pp. 71, 73 (data for 1990 and 1991); D. S. Bell and Byron Criddle, *The French Socialist Party: Resurgence and Victory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 198; Andrew Scott, *Fading Loyalties: The Australian Labor Party and the Working Class* (Leichhardt, New South Wales: Pluto Press, 1991), p. 29; *Who Weekly* (Sydney), May 22, 1995, p. 21; Peter Davis (ed.), *Social Democracy in the Pacific: A New Zealand Labour Perspective* (Auckland: Peter Davis in association with ROSS, 1982), pp. 178-9.

10. NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP, 1887-1939

[a] Valuable as these estimates are as a guide to trends, it must be noted that they are based on samples too small to be statistically reliable for all the data shown.

SOURCE: William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), pp. 312-13.

11. NORWEGIAN LABOR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE ORGANIZATIONAL LEADERSHIP, 1945-1971

[a] Valuable as these estimates are as a guide to trends, it must be noted that they are based on samples too small to be statistically reliable for all the data shown.

SOURCE: See Table 10.

12. DUTCH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP TO 1909

[a] The source of these data does not explain how they were derived but they seem to have been compiled from new membership applications from about 1899 to 1909, that is, a cumulative total of new members because the total membership of the party was already 9,504 by 1909.

SOURCE: Henny Buiting, "The Netherlands," in Marcel Van Der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), Vol. I, pp. 72, 78.

13. INDEPENDENT LABOUR PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1897-1935

[a] Based on affiliation fees.

SOURCE: Robert E. Dowse, *Left in the Centre: The Independent Labour Party, 1893-1940* (London: Longmans, 1966), pp. 8, 10, 12, 19, 29, 70, 79, 150, 193 n. 3.

14. BULGARIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC LABOR PARTIES: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1909

[a] Refers to those aged 21-26 years.
[b] Refers to those aged over 26 years.
[c] These data refer to 1910.

SOURCE: Zhivka Damianova, "Bulgaria," in Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), Vol. I, pp. 408-9. [The Narrow Socialists became the Bulgarian Communist Party.]

15. AUSTRIAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTY : SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1929, 1951, AND 1972

Note: The data for male and female membership in 1929 refer to 1928. The data for occupations for 1951 refer to 1954 and the "Other or unknown occupation" category are largely made up of those who were identified only as being private sector employees.

SOURCES: Kurt L. Shell, *The Transformation of Austrian Socialism* (New York: State University of New York, 1962), pp. 50, 89; William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), pp. 231-32 and the sources for table 3 of this appendix.

16. GERMAN SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1930, 1973, AND 1991

[a] Includes upper professions and academics.

SOURCES: W. L. Guttsman, *The German Social Democratic Party, 1875-1933: From Ghetto to Government* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1981), pp. 157, 160; William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 211; Gerard Braunthal, *The German Social Democrats Since 1969: A Party in Power and Opposition.* Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 2nd ed., 1994, pp. 73, 75.

17. FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1951, 1970, AND 1973

SOURCES: William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), pp. 60, 434; D. S. Bell and Byron Criddle, *The French Socialist Party: Resurgence and Victory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 198.

18. ITALIAN SOCIALIST PARTY: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1973

SOURCE: William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 84.

19. AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY IN NEW SOUTH WALES: SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1961 AND 1981

[a] Total membership figures were not given in the source, but were likely to be around 20,000 to 30,000.

SOURCE: Andrew Scott, *Fading Loyalties: The Australian Labor Party and the Working Class* (Leichhardt, New South Wales: Pluto Press, 1991), pp. 36-7, 42, 43.

20. AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY IN VICTORIA :SELECTED FEATURES OF THE MEMBERSHIP, 1961 AND 1986

[a] Total membership figures were not given in the source but were likely to be around 20,000 to 30,000.

SOURCE: Andrew Scott, *Fading Loyalties: The Australian Labor Party and the Working Class* (Leichhardt, New South Wales: Pluto Press, 1991), pp. 38, 42, 43.

21. VOTING FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1891-1920

Note: Where the election date was different to the date shown in the column headings, the date was as follows: Belgium (1894, 1914, 1919); Denmark (1901); France (1893, 1906, 1914, 1919); Finland (1919); Germany (1893, 1898, 1912); Ireland (1922); Italy (1919); Netherlands (1888, 1897, 1901, 1913, 1922); Norway (1897, 1912, 1921); Sweden (1902, 1911, 1921); Switzerland (1896, 1914, 1919); and, United Kingdom (1910, 1922). As there was no national government in Australia before 1901, the figures for the 1890s refer to voting in those colonies where the Labor Party contested seats. The figure for 1891 refers to elections held between 1891and 1893, that for 1895 for elections held between 1894 and 1896; and for 1901 to elections held between 1899 and 1901. The other figures refer to Labor's vote in federal elections for the house of representatives in 1913 and 1919.

SOURCES: Thomas T. Mackie and Richard Rose (eds.), *The International Almanac of Electoral History* (London: Macmillan, 3rd ed., 1994); Peter Flora and others, *State Economy and Society in Western Europe, 1815-1975* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1983), Vol. I, Chapter 3. W. Vamplew (ed.), *Australians: Historical Statistics* (Sydney: Fairfax, Syme and Weldon Associates, 1987), pp. 394, 398-401.

22. VOTING FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1930-1970

Note: Where the election date was different to the date shown in the column headings, the date was as follows: Austria (1949, 1959); Belgium (1929, 1946, 1961, 1971); Denmark (1929, 1971); France (1932, 1951, 1962, 1968); Finland (1951, 1962); Germany (1949, 1961, 1969); Ireland (1932, 1944, 1951, 1961, 1969); Italy (the figures refer to the combined vote of the two socialist parties in 1946, 1948, 1963,1972); Netherlands (1929, 1946, 1952, 1949, 1971); Norway (1949, 1961, 1969); Sweden (1932, 1944, 1952); Switzerland (1931, 1947, 1951, 1959, 1971); United Kingdom (1931, 1959); Australia (1931, 1946, 1949, 1961, 1969); and, New Zealand (1931, 1946, 1949, 1969).

SOURCES: Thomas T. Mackie and Richard Rose (eds.), *The International Almanac of Electoral History* (London: Macmillan, 3rd ed., 1994); Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *Party Organizations: A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-1990* (London: Sage, 1990); Peter Flora and others, *State Economy and Society in Western Europe, 1815-1975* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1983), Vol. I, Chapter 3.

23. VOTING FOR SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC/SOCIALIST PARTIES FOR SELECTED COUNTRIES, 1980-1995

[a] National election results only; voting for the European Parliament has been ignored.

[b] Combined vote of two parties from 1980 to 1990 for Belgium and Italy; the election figure for 1996 refers to the total for the Olive Tree Alliance led by the former Communist Party (the Democratic Party of the Left); the figures only refer to the 25 percent of seats elected by proportional representation.

Note: Where the election date was different to the date shown in the column headings, the date was as follows: Austria (1979, 1986); Belgium (the figures refer to the combined vote of the two socialist parties for 1981, 1991); Denmark (1979, 1984, 1994); France (1981, 1986, 1988, 1997); Finland (1979, 1983, 1991); Germany (1983, 1994); Ireland (1987, 1989, 1997); Italy (the figures refer to the combined vote of the two socialist parties for 1979, 1983, 1987; and for 1996 they

refer to the total for the Olive Tree Alliance, a center-left coalition led by the Democratic Party of the Left, the former Communist Party); Netherlands (1981, 1986, 1989, 1994); Norway (1981, 1989, 1993); Spain (1979, 1986, 1989, 1996); Portugal (1991); Sweden (1979, 1991, 1994); Switzerland (1979, 1987, 1991); United Kingdom (1979, 1987, 1992, 1997); Australia (1984, 1996); New Zealand (1981, 1987, 1996); and Canada ((1985, 1988, 1997).

SOURCES: Thomas T. Mackie and Richard Rose (eds.), *The International Almanac of Electoral History* (London: Macmillan, 3rd ed., 1994); Richard S. Katz and Peter Mair (eds.), *Party Organizations: A Data Handbook on Party Organizations in Western Democracies, 1960-1990* (London: Sage, 1990), pp. 631 (Netherlands); p. 741 (Norway); p. 788 (Sweden). Peter Flora and others, *State, Economy, and Society in Western Europe, 1815-1975* (Chicago: St. James Press, 1983), Vol. I, Chapter 3. Post-1990 data: *Keesing's Record of World Events,* the *European Industrial Relations Review;* Arthur S. Banks, Alan J. Day and Thomas C. Muller (eds.), *Political Handbook of the World: 1995-1996* (New York: CSA Publications, 1996); *Australian* (Sydney), March 5, 1996, p.11 (Spain); Australian Electoral Commission; *Current Affairs Bulletin* (Sydney), February/March 1997, p. 5 (New Zealand).

24. ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR THE AUSTRALIAN LABOR PARTY BY NONMANUAL AND MANUAL OCCUPATIONS, 1943-1993

SOURCE: Murray Goot, "Class Voting, Issue Voting and Electoral Volatility," in Judith Brett, James Gillespie and Murray Goot (eds.), *Developments in Australian Politics* (Melbourne: Macmillan, 1994), p. 164.

25. ELECTORAL SUPPORT FOR THE BRITISH LABOUR PARTY BY NONMANUAL AND MANUAL OCCUPATIONS, 1945-1992

Note: the 1974 figures refer to the election in October. The data for 1987 and 1992 refer to the private sector only.

SOURCES: Data for 1945 to 1983 were extracted from Anthony Heath, Roger Jowell and John Curtice, *How Britain Votes* (Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1985), p. 30 and data for 1987 and 1992 from Anthony King and others, *Britain at the Polls 1992* (Chatham, New Jersey: Chatham

House Publishers Inc., 1992), p. 189. See also Ivor Crewe, Neil Day, and Anthony Fox, *The British Electorate, 1963-1992: A Compendium of Date from the British Election Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, rev. ed., 1995).

26. SELECTED FEATURES OF VOTERS FOR THE SWEDISH SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC WORKERS' PARTY, 1956, 1964, AND 1973

SOURCE: William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977), p. 328.

27. SELECTED FEATURES OF VOTERS FOR THE FRENCH SOCIALIST PARTY, 1967 AND 1978

Note: for 1978 the age group for 21-34 years refers to those aged 18 to 34 years.

SOURCE: D. S. Bell and Byron Criddle, *The French Socialist Party: Resurgence and Victory* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984), p. 196.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The denigrated tradition of social democracy

Compared to the Marxist-Leninist or communist tradition, the social democratic tradition of socialism has been generally less well served by scholarly literature. The defenders of freedom have received less attention than their attackers. Many leading democratic socialists and their works are often remembered more today because Marx, Engels, or Lenin bothered to criticize them than for what they did or thought in their own right. Thus the Gotha Program (q.v.) is better known for Marx's criticisms of it rather than as a foundation stone of the German Social Democratic Party (q.v.). The socialist Alexandre Millerand (q.v.) is known more for his "crime" of serving as government minister than for using his position to introduce France's first effective labor laws. Similarly, Karl Kautsky (q.v.), the arbiter of socialist ideology from the late 1880s to 1914, dared to criticize Lenin over the dictatorship of the proletariat and has been largely forgotten until the late 1970s.

A second reason for the comparative neglect of the democratic socialist tradition is that it has suffered a loss of identify in becoming a part of established constitutional processes (rather than being a threat to those processes). This is particularly the case with labor parties, such as the Australian Labor Party (q.v.), where open support for "socialism" is usually the preserve of the left wing and where even the word itself is regarded as an electoral liability. As a result, studies of democratic socialism tend to be confined to particular countries and to neglect the wider international perspective.

Although there are signs that this imbalance is being redressed (for example, a long overdue scholarly edition and translation of Eduard Bernstein's revision of Marx in 1899 became available in 1993) there are still many gaps to be filled, including compilations of source documents for the period since 1914 and biographical dictionaries of social democrats. In particular, there is a lack of specific bibliographies, finding aids, and reference works that are devoted to democratic socialism. Consequently, much of the material needed, especially since 1945, is widely scattered in general reference works. Researchers in this field need to cast a wider net in their searches than is the case for Marxist or communist studies.

There is, as far as I can discover, no single comprehensive bibliography devoted to the history of social democracy. It is beyond the scope of this bibliography to fill this gap, but it aims to provide signposts to help readers following up on areas of interest. Given the diffuse nature of the subject, particularly since 1945, I have cast a wide net over the material in the hope of making it as useful as possible. It is also worth noting that social democracy is a living political philosophy and that the bibliography includes works that may not be historical as such, but raise interesting issues that may offer departure points for further research. Works of a largely polemical nature—either for or against socialism—have been omitted.

This bibliography is primarily a select, representative listing of scholarly books in English, with works in other languages being listed only in the absence in English ones. As a rule, I favored more recent works over older ones, mainly those published since 1970. This is not to say that the older works are inferior or no longer worth reading. Indeed, in some instances, they may be superior to later works, but my aims are to reflect the current scholarly view of the topic and to capture the older works in their bibliographies, rather than indicate my views on what is important and what is not.

In addition, since the late 1980s the U. S. Department of Labor has published a series on all the major countries in the world called *Foreign Labor Trends*. Based on information supplied by American embassies, these publications contain a profile of the current state of politics and labor in each country plus supporting statistics and are usually updated after several years. They are an especially valuable source for Third World countries for which timely information is often hard to obtain. Current information and research needs to be sought in journals which are listed separately in section A.6. That said, none of these remarks should be taken to mean that there are no longer large gaps in our knowledge of socialism. Rather, my impression is that there is still much to be done, particularly with regard to international socialist organizations, and the links with religion.

The study of social movements

This dictionary is volume 16 in the series *Historical Dictionaries of Religions, Philosophies and Movements*. The reader may also find it helpful to refer to the general guides to reference material, notably Alan Day and Joan M. Harvey (eds.), *Walford's Guide to Reference Material,* Volume 2, 6th ed., *Social and Historical Sciences,*

Philosophy and Religion (London: The Library Association, 1994) and Marion Sadler (ed.), *The Reader's Adviser* 14th ed., 6 vols. (New Providence, N. J.: R. R. Bowker, 1994).

The reader should also be aware that there are three other historical dictionaries of relevance in preparation by Scarecrow Press on communism, the cooperative movement, and the welfare state. More generally, the reader should not overlook the value of sociology and social psychology as well as political science as disciplines that can provide stimulating approaches to the study of history. The first large-scale analysis of socialism from this perspective was by Gustav Le Bon, *The Psychology of Socialism* (New Brunswick, N J.: Transaction Books, 1982), first published in 1899.

Although not all of them deal with socialism, readers may find the following works useful: Hans Toch, *The Social Psychology of Mass Movements* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965); Martin Kolinsky and William E. Paterson (eds.), *Social and Political Movements in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1976); Alain Touraine, *The Voice and the Eye: An Analysis of Social Movements,* trans. Alan Duff (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); John C. Turner, *Rediscovering the Social Group: A Self-Categorization Theory* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1987); Aldon D. Morris and Carol M. Mueller (eds.), *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory* (New Haven, Connecticut: Yale University Press, 1992), which is concerned with American material, and Louis Maheu (ed.), *Social Movements and Social Classes: The Future of Collective Action* (Thousand Oaks, Calif.: Sage, 1995).

Finally, there is much to stimulate the mind in the classic work by Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium: Revolutionary Millenarians and Mystical Anarchists of the Middle Ages* (London: Paladin, 3rd ed., 1970). Although not about socialism as such, it is suggestive of the undercurrents of many later mass social movements.

General surveys of socialism

A good recent introductory text is Bernard Crick, *Socialism* (Milton Keynes, England: Open University Press, 1987), which has a British emphasis. Albert S. Lindemann, *A History of European Socialism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983) is the best general survey of the history of European socialism for the pre-1939 period. As well as being clearly written, it has the added advantage of annotated guides to further reading at the end of each chapter. There does not seem to be an equivalent recent publication in English on the global

history of socialism, and so recourse must still be made to G. D. H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954-60, 5 vols.) which retains its value to a surprising degree. For the pre-1914 period it is essential to consult Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990, 2 vols. This research in this work, particularly for Eastern Europe, has made the older works in English obsolete. Similarly, Harry W. Laidler, *History of Socialism: An Historical and Comparative Survey of Socialism, Communism, Co-operation, Utopianism; and Other Systems of Reform and Reconstruction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968), although useful in its day, should now only be used where there is no alternative. Donald Sasson, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century* (New York and London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996) contains a large-scale treatment of its subject. Despite its title, it is largely devoted to the post-1945 period. Unlike the other single-volume general works mentioned, it makes a determined effort to place the development of socialism in its economic and social setting.

Bibliographies

There is inadequate bibliographical control over the whole subject of socialism and recourse must be made to a number of bibliographies. The most comprehensive international bibliography on socialism generally is in section B of the *International Bibliography of Political Science*, published by International Political Science Association in conjunction with UNESCO; after that the reader needs to search the entries in other parts of this work. Unfortunately, this valuable series seems to have fallen victim to international politics and ceased to appear after the volume for 1993.

For particular countries, the outstanding annotated bibliography to consult is the World Bibliographical Series produced under the general editorship of Robert L. Collison and later Robert G. Neville and John J. Horton. It is not only up-to-date but is available for nearly every country. Also worth consulting is Frederick L. Holler (ed.), *Information Sources of Political Science* (Santa Barbara, California: ABC-CLIO, 4th ed., 1986). As mentioned, the best place to start for an annotated guide to the history of European socialism is in the guides to further reading in Albert S. Lindemann, *A History of European Socialism* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983). The bibliographies in

G. D. H. Cole, *A History of Socialist Thought* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1954-60, 5 vols.) provide a convenient guide to socialist writings up to the time of their publication. Despite its age, Cole's work is still the best comprehensive treatment of socialism; in fact, just about anything by Cole is worth reading. There is also a good bibliography up to about 1960 in Harry W. Laidler, *History of Socialism: An Historical and Comparative Survey of Socialism, Communism, Co-operation, Utopianism, and Other Systems of Reform and Reconstruction* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1968).

The best single-volume bibliography on socialism in English is by Donald D. Egbert and Stow Persons, (eds.), *Socialism and American Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1952); reprinted in 1972, this marvelous work covers much non-American material as well. In a different vein but also of much use is the remarkable work by Lyman T. Sargent (ed.), *British and American Utopian Literature, 1516-1985: An Annotated, Chronological Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1988).

For the pre-1914 period, there is an excellent, up-to-date bibliography in Marcel van der Linden and Jürgen Rojahn (eds.), *The Formation of Labour Movements, 1870-1914: An International Perspective.* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990), Vol. II, pp. 701-81. This bibliography is matchless for recent research on Eastern Europe. For the post-1945 period, the most convenient bibliography is that in Donald Sasson, *One Hundred Years of Socialism: The West European Left in the Twentieth Century* (New York and London: I. B. Tauris Publishers, 1996).

Sources

Section B (Sources), sets out an extensive range of source materials relevant to the study of socialism. It includes works by individuals, edited anthologies, utopian works, literature, and music as well as other works. Literature, poetry, and music have been given some attention because many of the general survey works either give these topics scant attention or omit them entirely. I have also made a point of giving some emphasis to the works of those who popularized socialist ideas. Many of these authors are now ignored by academic works, which prefer intellectuals over popularizers, even though their works were more commonly read in their day.

I cannot emphasize enough the importance of gaining some acquaintance with the primary sources and not relying solely on the secondary works, particularly the one-volume survey books, which are

inclined to follow well-worn paths. Socialism is a subtle and complicated subject and things in it are not always what they seem. Political ideas can undergo great violence in generalized works, and socialism is no exception. The only antidote to falling victim to these hazards is familiarity with the primary sources. Many of these works are difficult to find, but the anthologies are generally available and repay close study.

For Marx, the best introduction is Eugene Kamenka (ed.), *The Portable Karl Marx* (New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1983). The reader should then consult David McLellan (ed.), *Karl Marx: Selected Writings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977). For recent scholarly texts of other authors relevant to socialism, I recommend the Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought edited by Raymond Guess and Quentin Kinner and published by Cambridge University Press. This series includes works by Bakunin, Bernstein, Fourier, Gramsci, Morris, Proudhon, as well as an interesting group of seven utopian tracts written in eighteenth-century England. One of the few collections of documents that concentrates on democratic socialists is J. Alwin Shapiro (ed.), *Movements of Social Dissent in Modern Europe* (Princeton, New Jersey: Van Nostrand, 1962).

Specific topics

The history of socialism makes little sense without a good understanding of the economic forces that enveloped Europe and the world after 1800. I particularly recommend the six volumes of *The Fontana Economic History of Europe*, edited by Carlo M. Cipolla (Glasgow: Collins/Fontana Books, 1972-76); Fernand Braudel's trilogy *Civilization and Capitalism:15th-18th Centuries* (London: Fontana Press, 1981, 1982, 1984); Sidney Pollard, *Peaceful Conquest: The Industrialization of Europe, 1760-1970* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); and Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire: An Economic History of Britain since 1750* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), which has been reprinted several times by Penguin Books. Hobsbawm has also written a stimulating trilogy from a Marxist point of view: *The Age of Revolution, 1789-1848* (New York: Mentor, 1962), *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (New York: Mentor, 1975), and *The Age of Empire, 1875-1914* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987).

The economic history of the world is well covered in the five volumes of the *Pelican History of the World Economy in the Twentieth Century* edited by Wolfram Fischer and published between 1977 and

1986; it covers the period from 1914 to 1980. For the U. S. economy, see Robert Heilbroner and Aaron Singer, *The Economic Transformation of America: 1600 to the Present.* Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace and Company, 3rd ed., 1994); first published in 1977, this work gives an excellent perspective on the subject.

Labor unions, and labor matters generally, occupy a central place in the history of socialism. James C. Docherty, *Historical Dictionary of Organized Labor* (Lanham, Maryland, and London: Scarecrow Press, 1996) offers a general introduction to this fascinating and underrated topic as well as an extensive bibliography and an extensive statistical appendix.

For the British Labour Party, there is a valuable annotated bibliography in Kenneth O. Morgan, *Labour People: Leaders and Lieutenants, Hardie to Kinnock* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2nd ed. 1992), pp. 348-62. For the social democratic parties of Western Europe, the treatment in William E. Paterson and Alastair H. Thomas (eds.), *Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (London: Croom Helm, 1977) is particularly good for the post-1945 period with lots of useful information hard to get elsewhere. It may be supplemented by the same editors' *The Future of Social Democracy: Problems and Prospects of Social Democratic Parties in Western Europe* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986). As might be expected, the number of general books on social democratic parties in non-English speaking countries written in English is limited. Specialists need to consult the research in the original language. I have omitted such works from this bibliography unless they are collections of source materials.

The interaction between art and the history of socialism is given large-scale treatment by Donald D. Egbert in his *Social Radicalism and the Arts* (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1970). The use of culture to create a socialist way of life is well dealt with by Vernon L. Lidtke, *The Alternative Culture: Socialist Labor in Imperial Germany* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985). There is a general survey of war and socialism by S. F. Kisson, *War and the Marxists: Socialist Theory and Practice in Capitalist War* (London: Andre Deutsch, 1988, 1989, 2 vols.). This topic is also examined in J. M. Winter, *Socialism and the Challenge of War: Ideas and Politics in Britain, 1912-18* (London and Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1974).

Structure of the bibliography

The bibliography is set out along the following lines to make the topic as accessible as possible. It does not pretend to cover every eventuality, and readers need to explore across the arbitrary boundaries I have drawn.

A. Research guides, sources, and journals

A.1 Bibliographies and finding aids: International
A.2 Bibliographies and finding aids: National
A.3 Directories and reference works
A.4 Biographical dictionaries
A.5 Statistics
A.6 Journals

B. Sources

B.1 Works by individual authors
B.2 Anthologies of primary sources
B.3 Utopian works, novels, poetry, and music
B.4 Other works

C. General survey works on socialism

D. Social protest and revolution

E. Socialist thought

F. Utopian socialism

G. Marxism

H. Anarchism and syndicalism

I. Social democracy

J. Socialism and liberalism

K. Socialism and the Jews

L. International socialist organizations

M. Socialism, foreign policy, and war

N. Social democratic parties and the working class

O. Socialism and organized labor

P. The cooperative movement and other voluntary associations

Q. Socialism, women, and youth

R. Socialism, education, and the arts

S. Studies of specific countries

S.1 Argentina
S.2 Australia
S.3 Austria
S.4 Belgium
S.5 Brazil
S.6 Canada
S.7 Czechoslovakia
S.8 Denmark
S.9 France
S.10 Germany
S.11 Greece
S.12 India
S.13 Indonesia
S.14 Israel
S.15 Italy
S.16 Jamaica
S.17 Japan
S.18 New Zealand
S.19 Nigeria
S.20 Russia
S.21 Spain
S.22 Sweden
S.23 Tanzania
S.24 Turkey
S.25 United Kingdom
S.26 United States of America
S.27 Yugoslavia

A. RESEARCH GUIDES, SOURCES, AND JOURNALS

A.1 Bibliographies and finding aids: International

Dolléans, Edouard and Crozier, Michel (eds.). *Mouvements Ouvriers et Socialistes: Chronologie et Bibliographie.* Paris: Èditions Ouvrières, 1950-59. 5 vols.

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A.2 Bibliographies and finding aids: National

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About the Author

JAMES C. DOCHERTY was born in Gosford, New South Wales, Australia, in 1949. Both of his parents were born in Scotland, his father in St. Andrews and his mother in Milngavie, north of Glasgow. He is a graduate of the University of Newcastle (B.A.) and the Australian National University (M.A., Ph.D.). Before joining the Australian Bureau of Statistics in 1978, he worked as a research assistant with the Australian Dictionary of Biography at the Australian National University. In 1978 he joined the Australian federal public service. He currently works for the Department of Immigration and Multicultural Affairs. He was an honorary research associate with the National Centre for Australian Studies at Monash University from 1990 to 1996. His publications include *Selected Social Statistics of New South Wales, 1861-1976* (1982); *Newcastle: The Making of an Australian City* (1983); "English Settlement in Newcastle and the Hunter Valley" in *The Australian People: An Encyclopedia of the Nation, Its People and Their Origins* edited by James Jupp (1988); and *Historical Dictionary of Australia* (1992). He was an editorial consultant to *Australians: Historical Statistics* (1987), contributing the entries on Australian history, politics, labor relations, and institutions in *The Cambridge Encyclopedia* edited by David Crystal (1990), and was an editor and contributor to *Workplace Bargaining in the International Context* (1993). His *Historical Dictionary of Organized Labor* was published by Scarecrow Press in 1996.